

Massive welcome set to greet Mandela's N. America tour

BY RONI McCANN

Stadiums, coliseums, and concert shells are reserved around the country; a ticker-tape parade, freedom march, and airport welcomes are planned; a tour of an auto plant in Detroit and addresses to trade union conventions are set — all for the 12-day tour to the United States, to begin June 20, of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. Hundreds of thousands of people across the country will be turning out to welcome him.

Mandela's visit to the United States is part of a 13-nation world tour, with the first stop in North America slated for Ottawa, Canada, June 16. Mandela is criss-crossing the globe on the wave of recent victories won by the masses of South Africans fighting to overthrow apartheid.

In his speeches to working people and meetings with government officials around the world, Mandela has continued to call for maintenance of economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

After addressing rallies in Toronto and Montréal June 18 and 19, Mandela's eight-city U.S. tour will begin with an official

Speech by Nelson Mandela, pages 8 and 9.

welcoming ceremony at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York when his plane arrives June 20. A highlight of the three-day stop in the city will be a rally June 21 at Yankee Stadium.

Mandela will also visit Boston June 23; Washington, D.C., June 24-26; Atlanta June 27; Miami and Detroit June 28; Los Angeles June 29; and Oakland, California, June 30.

Another victory against apartheid

While Mandela was in Paris June 7 another victory was scored in the fight to abolish apartheid. The South African government announced that the national state of emergency law would be lifted the next day in three of four South African provinces: Transvaal, Cape Province, and Orange Free State.

Excluded was the province of Natal where thousands of people have died in fighting between Inkatha, headed by apartheid collaborator Gatsha Buthelezi and backed by

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Militant/Margrethe Siem
African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela at Johannesburg concert in March. June 16-30 tour of Canada, United States will draw hundreds of thousands of people.

Challenge of July 9 trial outlined at Chicago rally to support Mark Curtis

BY PETER THIERJUNG

CHICAGO — Some 900 unionists, political activists, supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and friends and relatives of Curtis rallied their forces here at the Bismarck Hotel on June 9 in preparation for the next stage in the fight to defend the imprisoned unionist and political activist.

Curtis is currently serving a 25-year sentence for a 1988 trumped-up rape and burglary conviction. Police and prosecutors framed Curtis following his participation in defense efforts for 17 coworkers who had been arrested by U.S. immigration agents at the Swift packinghouse in Des Moines, Iowa.

Curtis now faces a July 9 jury trial in a lawsuit brought by Keith and Denise Morris, the parents of the woman he was accused of assaulting. The suit aims to get the court to order Curtis to pay massive financial damages for a crime he did not commit, Kate Kaku told the Chicago rally.

Kaku, who is a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and is Curtis' wife, was

the main speaker at the event. Also on the speakers platform were Christiane Malet of the International Solidarity Committee of the Québec National Teachers Federation in Canada; Paul Chalmers, an education and training officer of the Industrial Union of Workers from Auckland, New Zealand; Rev. Helen Sinclair of the Prisoners Support Group of Operation PUSH in Chicago; Terry Marryshow, central leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada; Yusuf Saloojee, of the African National Con-

gress Department of International Affairs; Maria Hamberg, a member of the Swedish Food Workers Union in Stockholm; Ruth Haswell, a member of the General Municipal and Boilermakers Union in Sheffield, England; Derek Jeffers, the coordinator of Paris Supporters of Mark Curtis and member of the Metal Union Federation of France, and Dick Reilly, member of the national executive committee of the Palestine Solidarity Committee. James Warren — a leader of

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Greyhound bosses file for bankruptcy

BY SELVA NEBBIA

On June 4 Greyhound Lines, Inc. filed for bankruptcy. This move by the owners of the only coast-to-coast bus company in the United States freezes payments on its debts of \$540 million.

The bankruptcy was filed by Fred Currey, the company's chairman and chief executive,

95 days after 9,000 drivers, mechanics, cleaners, and clerks struck Greyhound.

Currey claims that violence during the strike is to blame for the bus line's financial troubles. "I've made money and lost money as an entrepreneur and I accept the vagaries of the marketplace," the Greyhound chairman said after filing for bankruptcy, "But violence, intimidation, and criminal activities are not vagaries of the marketplace. That's extortion."

The violence-baiting, as well as company attacks against the strike, have been used by Greyhound management as an excuse for stalling the negotiations with the Amalgamated Transit Union and to discredit the strikers.

After six years without a raise, ATU members struck the bus company for higher wages

and to defend their jobs and their union. Greyhound's demands on union members include no wage increases and giving the company unrestricted rights to subcontract bus routes, eliminate seniority, and undermine the grievance procedure.

As the strike has gained more support from unionists and others throughout the country, the company violence has increased. Strikers on the picket lines in some cities have been struck and injured by buses driven by poorly trained scabs. One bus driver, Bob Waterhouse, was killed while picketing in Redding, California.

Despite claims of financial health in the early weeks of the strike, Greyhound lost \$55.8 million in the first quarter of this year after earning \$730,000 in 1989 on revenues

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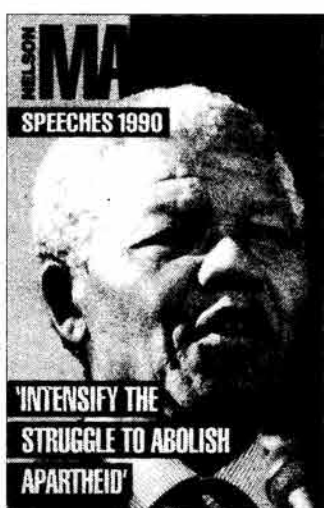
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The new pamphlet, together with **New International No. 5**, which features articles on the struggle in southern Africa, and an introductory subscription

to the **Militant**, which carries on-the-scene reports from South Africa and news about other battles by working people around the world, makes a powerful package that every trade unionist, anti-apartheid activist, and student will want to buy and read.



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Antigovernment rebels are poised near Liberia capital

BY RONI McCANN

In the West African country of Liberia antigovernment forces fighting to oust the military dictatorship of Samuel Doe have steadily grown and advanced from the eastern border where they began their battle last December. In the past month the rebel troops have taken the towns of Gbarnga and Buchanan, Roberts Field international airport, and the factory and offices of the huge Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. plantation.

The rebel force is now poised on the edge of the capital, Monrovia. Most of Doe's cabinet and other officials, including the chief of police, have resigned and left the country. Fifteen hundred government soldiers have

deserted, joining throngs of Liberians heading for neighboring Sierra Leone. Four U.S. warships and 2,000 marines were stationed off the coast as U.S. citizens were evacuated June 10.

As of that day, Doe was holed up in his mansion on the coast surrounded by a 2,000-strong Israeli-trained Special Anti-Terrorist Unit.

Doe's government has agreed to meet with representatives of the antigovernment force, the National Patriotic Front, for peace talks in Sierra Leone on June 18. The front is led by Charles Taylor, a former government official who fled the country in 1983 after being

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Rebel forces poised near Liberian capital

Continued from front page
accused of embezzlement by Doe.

Liberia, about the size of Tennessee and with a current population of 2.5 million, was set up in 1822 by freed U.S. slaves with the aid of U.S. President James Monroe and the American Colonization Society. This group advocated emancipation for those slaves who agreed to return to Africa. Liberia became an independent republic 25 years later.

English-speaking descendants of U.S. Blacks, known as Americo-Liberians, evolved into the privileged ruling class. The indigenous peoples of Liberia, disenfranchised by the settlers, constitute 99 percent of the population and are descendants of some 20 ethnic groups. Every president of Liberia was Americo-Liberian until 1980 when Doe, a descendant of the Krahn people, toppled William Tolbert's regime.

Constitution suspended

Since then Liberia has been under the military rule of Doe, who suspended the constitution after taking power. He promoted descendants of the Krahn people, who constitute about 4 percent of the population, to high positions in his government apparatus, deepening divisions among the indigenous population. Widespread killings and abuses have been carried out by the Liberian government that are especially aimed at the Gio and Mano peoples. Antigovernment forces have accused the Doe regime of corruption, economic mismanagement, and human rights violations.

The natural resources of Liberia, including rubber, timber, diamonds, and iron ore, have been long exploited by U.S. capitalists. The Firestone rubber plantation there is the largest in the world. Firestone acquired land at bar-

gain prices after World War I to ensure supplies of rubber. Liberia's main currency is the U.S. dollar.

The U.S. government's domination of Liberia deepened during the decade Doe was in power. Doe's government received \$500 million from Washington in the first five years alone, more money per capita than to any other African country.

Washington also has CIA installations in the country that make up part of its spy operation in the region and that also reach Latin America and parts of Europe. The U.S. Omega marine transmitter in Liberia is one of the five most important U.S. naval transmission bases in the world. And the U.S. government has landing and refueling rights in Liberia for military aircraft and ships on 24-hour notice. The Liberian government is

the only one in sub-Saharan Africa that allows Washington such rights.

In 1985 Doe was declared the winner of rigged elections supervised by Washington. Shortly after, the tyrannical president crushed a coup attempt led by Thomas Quiwonkpa, who was subsequently executed. Following the coup effort killings and torture carried out by Doe's forces against other indigenous peoples increased. Some 2,000 Gios and Manos were killed. A 1986 report by the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights said witnesses had described "blood-curdling brutality."

One of Quiwonkpa's brothers and several relatives were among the 150 insurgents led by Taylor who launched an attack on a government outpost last December, beginning the fight to topple the Doe regime.

After the attack, which took place in Nimba County bordering the Ivory Coast, Doe's troops launched a counterattack, killing civilians they claimed were sympathetic to the rebel forces. Some 200,000 people in rural areas were forced to flee as the fighting erupted into a civil war. The antigovernment forces attracted hundreds of Gios and Manos, swelling to a total of 4,000 soldiers today.

Taylor, who is of partial Americo-Liberian descent, said he does not plan to change the form of government in Liberia but will "take over the reins and clear up the government and country." Taylor said the National Patriotic Front plans on holding elections after Doe is overthrown and wants to create a nonaligned Liberia, with continuing U.S. government aid.

Help sell 'Militant' during Mandela tour

BY RONI McCANN

On June 16 African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will arrive in Ottawa, Canada, and begin an 11-city tour through North America. From the moment he lands and for the next 15 days Mandela will be speaking at rallies, press conferences, honorary events, and welcoming ceremonies.

Millions of working people across Canada and the United States, in person or from televised broadcasts, will hear the South African freedom fighter explain the world significance of the struggle to abolish apartheid; the fight for a nonracial, democratic South Africa, and the importance of keeping up the political pressure on the apartheid regime,

including with economic sanctions.

The *Militant* urges its readers to join a 15-day effort to increase the readership of the paper by introducing it to as many of the hundreds of thousands of anti-apartheid fighters, young people, and workers as possible who turn out to greet Mandela.

Militant supporters will also be urging participants to buy a copy of the magazine *New Internationalist* issue No.5 that features "The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes. And they will be selling thousands of copies of a new Pathfinder pamphlet *Nelson Mandela Speeches 1990: "Intensify the Struggle to Abolish Apartheid."*

The *Militant* is an indispensable tool that provides broad social, political, and world analysis and news needed for working-class fighters to be effective — whether in the struggle against apartheid or Eastern Airlines. The paper is increasingly attractive to workers and youth — many of whom will be on hand to hear what Mandela has to say. Eastern and Greyhound strikers, coal miners, farmers and farm workers, high school and college students are drawn to Mandela because he is a fighter — like themselves. And they need the *Militant*, a paper they can depend on to report the truth about the worldwide class battles taking place.

Those who read Spanish and French can sign up for the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* and quarterly *Lutte ouvrière*, both of which feature speeches by Mandela in their current issues.

Militant supporters will be promoting a special offer: an introductory subscription to the paper and the hot-off-the-press pamphlet *Nelson Mandela Speeches 1990* for \$10. Those who take advantage of this offer will also be able to pick up a copy of *New Internationalist* No.5 for just another \$5.

Every reader is urged to join in the cam-

paign. Just call or head down to the nearest Pathfinder bookstore, listed on page 12, where sales will be organized.

Mandela will spend his first three days in North America in Canada where he will take part in a freedom ride in Ottawa; address a June 18 rally at Nathan Phillips Square (City Hall) in Toronto; and speak at the Champ de Mars on June 19 in Montréal. *Militant* supporters in these cities have placed orders for 1,000 papers and 650 copies of the new pamphlet to sell at these events.

Mandela arrives in New York June 20 and *Militant* supporters in the city, joined by others coming in from the surrounding area, are planning to participate in every event during the three-day stop. They have ordered 5,000 *Militants* and 2,500 copies of the new Mandela pamphlet.

An open house at the Pathfinder bookstore in Manhattan is slated for June 20 following Mandela's lunchtime ticker-tape parade to City Hall. When Mandela goes to Boston and Washington, D.C., *Militant* supporters in the New York-New Jersey area plan to travel there too and help distribute the paper and sell pamphlets.

Classes on South Africa

During Mandela's tour, chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance will be signing up youth for classes on the coming revolution in South Africa. YSA members and supporters plan to hand out thousands of leaflets in cities across the country for the classes.

During Mandela's visit, supporters of the six-story Pathfinder Mural will be stepping up efforts to sell posters featuring the Mandela portrait painted on the New York mural by South African artist Dumile Feni. A new postcard with the same design will be ready June 21 and will add to the fund-raising efforts for the mural.

Mandela to get big welcome

Continued from front page

South African police, and the people of Natal, many of whom are members of the United Democratic Front, an anti-apartheid organization. At the time of the announcement South African President F.W. de Klerk said he had budgeted \$380 million to raise a force of 10,000 more police for use in Natal and elsewhere.

The state of emergency rule, which gave the apartheid government broad powers to restrict political activity, was imposed in 1986 and has been the target of massive protest demonstrations by unionists and other opponents of apartheid, especially over the last year. Lifting the state of emergency has been one of the African National Congress' long-standing demands.

"This is what we have fought for since the emergency was declared," said Mandela upon hearing the announcement. Lifting the

decree, he said, "was a victory for all the people of South Africa, Black and white." He added that retaining the emergency rule in Natal would not stop the violence there.

A long-time leader of the ANC, Mandela was released from prison in February after spending more than 27 years behind bars. He was given a life sentence after being arrested in 1962 and convicted in 1964, along with other ANC leaders, on charges of sabotage.

On June 10 the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* published a report linking the CIA to Mandela's arrest. In the report a retired CIA officer quoted another agent as saying in 1962, "We have turned Mandela over to the South African Security branch. We gave them every detail, what he would be wearing, the time of day, just where he would be." Mandela, dressed as a chauffeur, left Durban where he had met secretly with other ANC leaders. He ran into a roadblock and was immediately arrested.

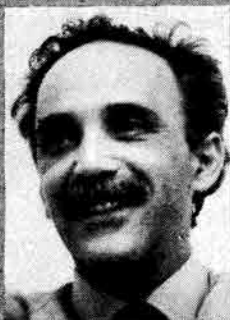
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is not an objective newspaper but takes a clear stand on

the side of the working class all over the world. It is one of the most informative newspapers about the class struggle in both parts of the Americas."

MICHEL WARSCHAWSKY

defendant in Israeli government's case against Alternative Information Centre, of which he was director, and a political activist and partisan of Palestinian liberation



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The Militant

Closing news date: June 13, 1990

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Published weekly except the last two weeks of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Fax 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office, (212) 929-3486. Nicaragua Bureau, Apartado 2222, Managua. Telephone 24845.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$37, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$70. Canada: send Canadian \$50 for one-year subscription to Société d'Éditions AGPP, C.P. 340, succ. R, Montréal, Québec H2S 3M2. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £28 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 259, Glebe, Sydney, NSW 2037, Australia.

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Sentiment for Québec sovereignty fuels Canada constitutional crisis

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL — Despite an agreement over proposed amendments to the 1982 constitution reached between Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 10 provincial premiers late in the evening June 9, the political crisis facing Canada's rulers continues. The crisis has been generated by rising support for Québec's sovereignty among Canada's 5 million oppressed French-speaking Québécois. Canada's total population is 26.5 million.

The key difference among the capitalist politicians centers on a vague clause in what has become known as the Meech Lake accord that characterizes Québec as a "distinct society." The Meech Lake accord was drawn up by Mulroney and the 10 provincial premiers in 1987 as a way to get the Québec government to sign the 1982 constitution, which it has refused to endorse.

The Québec Liberal government, headed by Premier Robert Bourassa, supports the Meech Lake accord and the "distinct society" clause. This position is opposed by Québec's main trade union federations, farmers' associations, and nationalist organizations.

"We have been against it since the beginning," stated a resolution adopted by the recent convention of the 244,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), "because in our opinion it does not recognize our national identity nor our right to self-determination."

Fear of a resurgence of the Québec movement against national oppression and growing support by a majority of Québécois for independence turned the latest constitutional talks in Ottawa into a pressure cooker.

Gives 'too much' to Québec

Under the terms of the accord signed three years ago, Meech Lake will die if not approved by all the provincial governments by June 23. Going into the talks, the premiers of Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, along with a significant minority of the capitalist class, were opposed to Meech Lake on the grounds that it gives "too much" to Québec. What started out as a supper discussion in Ottawa June 3 turned into a week-long marathon of contentious and tense meetings behind closed doors.

The *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported that during the week the Manitoba and New-

foundland premiers broke down in tears, Québec's Premier Robert Bourassa threatened to walk out, and Alberta Premier Donald Getty, a former professional football player, physically blocked the Manitoba and Newfoundland premiers from leaving the conference. On June 12 Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon charged that his phone calls to Manitoba opposition leaders had been bugged by the prime minister's office.

The June 9 agreement now hangs by a thread. On June 10 Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, who is part of the chauvinist anti-Québécois opposition to the "distinct society" clause, bitterly denounced the strong-arm tactics and stated he had not en-

Québec labor, farmer, and nationalist organizations say Meech Lake accord doesn't recognize Québec national identity.

dorsed the accord. Wells has now placed the June 9 agreement before the Newfoundland House of Assembly, which will vote on it before the June 23 deadline.

In Manitoba, where the Conservative, Liberal, and New Democratic Party leaders support the June 9 agreement, Native leaders have vowed to kill Meech Lake because it does not recognize the rights of Native people. Manitoba's only Native representative in the legislature has refused to give the unanimous consent required to place the Meech Lake accord before the legislature for a vote.

'Reasonable limits'

The June 9 agreement leaves the Meech Lake accord intact but includes an appended legal opinion stating that the 1982 constitution and its Charter of Rights and Freedoms take precedence over the "distinct society" clause in the Meech Lake accord. The legal text repeats the first clause in the charter, which says that the rights outlined in it — and in this case the "distinct society" clause — are "subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society."

On Oct. 16, 1970, Québécois found out what "reasonable limits" the ruling class is prepared to enforce in order to crush the Québécois nationalist movement when they woke up to martial law and the Canadian army patrolling the streets of Montréal and other Québec cities.

Other provisions of the June 9 agreement call for further discussions on constitutional amendments dealing with a "Canada clause" and "minority" language rights, moves toward an elected senate (presently Canada has an appointed upper house of Parliament), and a vague promise of future constitutional discussions dealing with Native and women's rights, which were not included in the 1982 constitution or Meech Lake accord.

Undermine Québécois rights

The "legal opinion" defending the 1982 constitution and the references to a "Canada clause" and "minority" language rights are all code words for further attempts to undermine the rights of Québécois. They can be used to strengthen the federal government's anti-Québécois policy of a "bilingual Canada," which is used as a cover for crippling the Québec government's efforts to promote the use of the French language in Québec.

Over the past few years the federal Supreme Court of Canada used the 1982 constitution to strike down whole sections of Québec's Law 101 in order to defend the rights of the supposedly oppressed English-speaking minority in Québec. Adopted by the Québec government in 1977, Law 101 is affirmative action legislation that aims to overcome discrimination against those who speak French. Tens of thousands of Québécois have taken to the streets in defense of this law.

In Québec reaction to the June 9 deal was swift and mostly negative.

"The process toward [Québec's] sovereignty is irreversible," CSN Vice-president Monique Simard said. "Signing Meech in these circumstances will not change that." The 160,000-member Québec Teachers' As-

sociation (CEQ) also came out against the June 9 agreement.

Jacques Parizeau the leader of the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois, which supports Québec sovereignty and formed the Québec government from 1976 to 1984, accused Bourassa of "selling out" Québec. Parizeau charged that the June 9 agreement would open the door to further attacks by the Supreme Court against Law 101.

Right to self-determination

Steelworker Michel Dugré, the Communist League candidate for mayor of Montréal, condemned the June 9 agreement as another attack on the right of Québécois to self-determination.

"Every worker should feel outraged by the effort of the federal and provincial governments to pressure the Québécois to endorse the 1982 constitution," said Dugré. "That constitution and its so-called Charter of Rights and Freedoms was a fake and a fraud. It was opposed not only by the Québécois but by Native people and women. Nowhere in that constitution will you find the basic union rights of workers codified."

"The divisions among the politicians in Ottawa over the Meech Lake accord are secondary to the fact that the capitalist politicians are 100-percent united behind the 1982 constitution that maintains Canada as a prison house of nationalities and promotes divisions among working people."

"However, as they attack the rights of Québécois, Native people, women, and all working people as part of their drive to make us pay for the crisis of their system, working people are finding it more and more necessary to unite to defeat their divide-and-rule tactics," Dugré continued.

"For example, last week's Ontario convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees took a position in defense of the linguistic rights of French-speaking people outside of Québec. The majority of delegates declared their opposition to chauvinist organizations like the Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada that have been campaigning for English-only laws in cities across Canada."

"At a recent bargaining policy conference of the Canadian Auto Workers, the delegates defended Law 101 and called on the Québec



Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney presided over a meeting of 10 provincial premiers in hopes of saving a constitutional agreement. The so-called Meech Lake accord expires June 23 if it is not approved.

government to do more to ensure that French becomes the language of work in Québec.

"June 24 is Québec's national holiday," said Dugré. "Hundreds of thousands of Québécois will be in the streets to celebrate their struggle and to demand that their rights be respected. My union federation, the Québec Federation of Labour (FTQ), will be mobilizing its members."

"June 24 is an opportunity for the labor movement across the country to take further steps towards unity. The labor movement needs to adopt a clear stand against the anti-Québécois forces that oppose the Meech Lake accord for allegedly giving the Québécois too much, and in support of the right of Québécois to self-determination — up to and including independence — which the June 9 agreement flagrantly violates."

Brooklyn garment workers still fighting 4 months into strike



Militant/Marea Himelgrin
On May 31 at noon, more than 300 unionists and Haitian activists gathered outside Domsey Trading Corp. in Brooklyn, New York, for a rally to support a four-month-old strike for union recognition. The strikers, who face an intense attack by the bosses, belong to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Trade union officials spoke at rally, including Jay Mazur, president of the ILGWU. Congressman Major Owens and rank-and-file leaders of the Domsey, Eastern, and Greyhound strikes addressed the crowd. Also heard were activists from the Haitian community who organized the April 20 New York demonstration of tens of thousands protesting racism against Haitians.

Suit filed against U.S. government's ban on importing Cuban art

NEW YORK — The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has filed a suit in federal court here against the U.S. Treasury Department for not allowing original Cuban works of art to enter the United States.

"The Treasury Department says that original art cannot come from Cuba to the United States," said Edith Tiger, executive director of the NECLC, in a telephone interview. "But under the First Amendment it is the American people's right to see and learn and exchange ideas. We charge the Bush administration with violating the free trade in ideas."

In 1988 Congress passed the Free Trade in Ideas Act exempting "informational materials" from the 1962 embargo on Cuban goods entering the United States. Under this amendment, books, posters, photographs, videos, and films from Cuba can now come into the country. In 1989 the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control took the position, however, that the amendment did not apply to paintings, drawings, and sculpture.

"It's a crazy situation," Tiger pointed out, "you can bring in lithographs and even sell them, but you can't bring in the original art." The NECLC suit, filed June 5 in the Southern District for New York, challenges the Treasury Department ban "on behalf of very prominent people," Tiger explained. Among them are artists, gallery owners, and art collectors.

Sotheby's and Christie's, the art auction houses, will be filing briefs in support of the NECLC suit. The Treasury Department will have 60 days to respond.

Michael Krinsky from the legal firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky, and Lieberman is the NECLC's lawyer in the case.

Rally draws 900 Curtis supporters; challenge of July 9 trial outlined

Continued from front page

Curtis' party, the Socialist Workers Party — chaired the event.

Kaku opened her talk by reviewing the accomplishments of the defense campaign since the beginning of this year.

A group of Curtis' supporters headed by Kaku traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, in February to bring the framed unionist's fight for justice before the United Nations Human Rights Commission, Kaku said. The delegation included supporters from Canada, Britain, France, and Sweden. Eddie Carthan, a well-known Black rights fighter and frame-up victim from Mississippi, participated in the delegation.

Kaku listed the achievements of the delegation in Geneva. A UN human rights officer was assigned to follow Curtis' case. His frame-up was introduced during a formal session of the commission's hearings. And discussions with international human rights groups, including Amnesty International, were held to win support. The defense committee was able to raise \$20,000 on short notice to finance the delegation's trip and activities.

In January Kaku conducted a speaking tour through the southern United States. She visited Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, and South Carolina, meeting civil rights activists, frame-up victims, farmers, students, and supporters of democratic rights. Highlights of her tour were speaking at and winning the support of the Mississippi Conference of Black Mayors and leading off a Martin Luther King Day march in Eutaw, Alabama, she said.

Kaku also reviewed her recently completed three-month tour of Britain, Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, Norway, France, and Canada. During the tour thousands of people heard her speak, dozens of press interviews were held,

In Sweden Kaku visited a refugee center where workers identified with Curtis' fight. During a visit through a meat-packing plant in Stockholm, workers urged her and Curtis to keep fighting. "You must not allow them to push you back," they told her.

Kaku went to Oslo, Norway, to visit the Blitz house, a cultural center run by young people. More than 80 youth attended a meeting for her there. Afterward she met with Paul Chauffey, the youngest member of the Norwegian parliament, who vowed to win more support for Curtis.

L'Humanité, the newspaper of the Communist Party of France, interviewed Kaku in Paris. There she also met with representatives of the country's largest trade union federation, the General Workers Confederation (CGT). A three-city tour was organized by the Revolutionary Communist Youth of France.

Kaku then visited the cities of Ottawa, Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver in Canada. There she attended several national union conventions, including that of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Québec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN).

Countercampaign against Curtis

As support for his fight has increased worldwide, a U.S. group promoting the cop and prosecution frame-up of Curtis has stepped up its efforts to disrupt the defense campaign, Kaku said. "This countercampaign has been spearheaded by a group called the Workers League. This group repeats the police line that Mark Curtis attacked a young Black woman and that Mark's defense campaign is against a Black family. This is not true," she said.

"Our campaign is directed at the cops," Kaku explained. "It was the cops that framed

Kaku said. During her trip to Australia last year, the Socialist Labour League, which supports the Workers League, picketed and harassed trade unionists for a week in an attempt to prevent them from supporting Curtis' fight.

Following her tour of Britain, the International Communist Party, also linked to the Workers League, "systematically visited each and every mine pit, every union branch, every NUM official," Kaku said. They distributed free of charge *The Mark Curtis Hoax*, a 250-page book printed by the Workers League that promotes the cop and prosecution frame-up of Curtis.

"Even in countries where there is no Workers League outfit, the countercampaign has appeared," Kaku said. This was true in Iceland. "The day after I got off the plane, a very large article, 'Support for a rapist?,' appeared in the People's Alliance newspaper." The article, which peddled the Workers League's pro-cop line, outraged many people, including members of Amnesty International, she said.

The countercampaign's inability to derail the Curtis defense effort was shown by "the success of my tour and the fact that over 8,000 democratically minded people and organizations have endorsed this campaign," Kaku said.

"The opponents of Mark's defense are not doing so great in winning public opinion. That's why they are dragging us into court. Because they are stronger there," Kaku said about the July 9 trial. "They want to make Mark pay for many years to come," she said. "They are using the courts to try to break Mark and me, to inflict a crushing economic burden on us."

"Mark and I were both packinghouse workers. We're a working-class family," Kaku said. She worked as a meat-packer in Perry, Iowa, for more than two years until the

politically with the Workers League countercampaign. It is consistent with the outfit's methods of using the courts to carry out disruption campaigns against workers' organizations."

"We are going to fight like hell on this suit, but we need your help," Kaku told the rally. "I want to ask you to step up your activities, go back to your cities and organize more public events, go to trade unions, go to churches, go to democratic rights organizations, and get their support," she said. "We need tens of thousands of dollars to be able to defend ourselves and to continue the work we have been doing."

In a collection at the rally following Kaku's talk more than \$26,000 was contributed or pledged toward the defense effort.

Message from Curtis

A tape-recorded message from Curtis was played at the rally. He described his recent transfer from the state prison in Anamosa, Iowa, to Fort Madison. He said he was beginning to have political discussions with the inmates at the new prison.

"Already I have become known as a political activist and fighter against a frame-up," Curtis said. Some inmates in Fort Madison had heard about his fight before he was moved there and several now support his defense effort.

The aim of the July 9 trial is to "keep bearing down on me," Curtis said. "They want to make sure that I don't do any of the kind of things I have been doing with my life for the last 10 years. They want to threaten you not to do them either. Their aim is to break me, demoralize me, to make sure that I never defend another fellow worker, especially not an immigrant worker." But, Curtis said, "my Spanish is getting better than ever." He urged his supporters to step up defense activities.

Solidarity messages were sent to the rally by the CGT in France; Johnnie Imani Harris, a victim of a racist frame-up incarcerated in Springville, Alabama; Bobby Singleton, a youth activist in Alabama; Hollis Watkins, a longtime civil rights activist from Mississippi; and Eddie Carthan, the first Black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, and a frame-up victim.

Carmen Mullins, president of the United Mine Workers of America Student Auxiliary in Dickenson County, Virginia; Jackie Counts, recording secretary of the UMW women's auxiliary in Castlewood, Virginia; Hylan Smith and Johnnie Shears, members of UMW Local 2368 in Brookwood, Alabama; and James Gibbs, member of UMW District 28 in Virginia also sent messages.

Rafiq Khan, a former political prisoner from Pakistan; Benjamin and Gloria Hoover, cop frame-up victims from St. Louis, Missouri; Annika Åhnberg, a member of Sweden's parliament; Cuban artist Aldo Soler; the Finnish Food Workers' Union in Helsinki, Finland; the Chicago chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; and the Communist Workers Party of Finland sent greetings.

Messages of support came from Joe Krmpotich, chairman of the grievance committee of United Steelworkers of America Local 1720; Rev. Roosevelt McGee, executive director of the Chicago chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and John Zippert, publisher of the *Greene County Democrat* in Eutaw, Alabama.

Ginny Krone, for the Chicago Campaign to Shut Down the INS Detention Centers; Dave Nell, a Machinists union member on strike against Eastern Airlines; U.S. Congressman Gus Savage (D-Ill.); Frank Rosen, president of District Council 11 of the United Electrical Workers; and Carroll Nearmyer, vice-president of the American Agriculture Movement in Iowa sent greetings.

Robert Verdier, League for the Rights of Man, France; Committee for the Defense of Liberties and the Rights of Man in France and the World; Ron Todd, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union in Britain; Peter Heathfield, secretary of the NUM; and Johnnie Jackson, from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Coalition of Labor Union Women in Chicago, also sent messages.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Speakers at the Rally for Justice for Mark Curtis in Chicago included (from left to right) Rev. Helen Sinclair, Prisoners Support Group of Operation PUSH in Chicago; Ruth Haswell, member General Municipal and Boilermakers Union, Sheffield, England; Yusuf Saloojee, African National Congress International Affairs Department, Lusaka, Zambia; James Warren, Socialist Workers Party; and Kate Kaku, Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

and hundreds of new endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee signed up.

British miners among best supporters

Coal miners of the National Union of Mineworkers were among Curtis' "best and firmest" supporters in Britain, Kaku reported. Durham miners hosted a special fund-raising social for her. In South Wales, NUM members invited her to their gala festival. The Lord Mayor of Sheffield and the general secretary of the National Council on Civil Liberties met with her.

In Denmark, Kaku spoke in 17 cities in two-and-a-half weeks. Trade unionists, especially dockworkers and meat-packers, warmly welcomed her and extended support and financial contributions to Curtis' fight. Some \$5,000 was raised during the trip there.

The Amnesty International national board in Iceland invited Kaku to present Curtis' case. She also spoke at a European conference of the International Christian Youth Exchange held in Reykjavik where she met members of SOS Racism, an antiracist and pro-immigrant rights group. Iceland's national union for unskilled workers endorsed the defense effort while she was there.

Mark. It was the cops who beat him. It was the cops who called him a 'Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds.' It was the cops who lied in court and it was their testimony that convicted Mark."

"The countercampaign says that supporters of Mark are being duped," Kaku said. "The only duping that's going on is on their side, not ours. We tell the truth. Mark is a worker who is fighting to unify the working class and was framed on rape and burglary charges by the cops because of this."

By learning the facts of the frame-up against Curtis and his unfair trial, thousands of people around the world have been convinced to support his fight for justice, Kaku said. "If I wasn't convinced of the facts in this case, I couldn't go to the world and ask for support and solidarity like I have in the last year and a half."

An antilabor outfit

The Workers League poses as socialist and pro-labor organization, Kaku said, but the group has increasingly exposed itself as an outfit that aims to disrupt the labor movement.

The countercampaign conducted by the Workers League exists in other countries,

company laid her and 600 coworkers off in a move to get the union out of the plant. Starting at \$6.00 an hour, "it took me two years to make it up to \$9.50. I made \$9.50 an hour for two weeks until they laid me off," she said. Curtis worked at the Swift meat-packing company in Des Moines prior to his arrest.

"We have no money," Kaku said. A judgment against Curtis in court could lead to his wages being garnished after he is freed from prison. "We'll be forced to keep paying and keep paying forever."

So-called justice system

Kaku compared Curtis' frame-up and the July 9 trial with the victimization other fighters face when caught up in the so-called justice system. "When a farmer from Kansas faced a judge during his fight to save his farm, the judge told him, 'When you come into the courts against the banks, you are wrong.' And in Mark's case and millions like his, when you come into the courts against the cops, 'You're wrong,'" she said.

"The aim of the criminal justice system is to break you, to wear you down, to grind you," Kaku said. "The Morris suit squares

Curtis tells of prison transfer, new conditions

'We don't have to give a reason,' official says

BY MARK CURTIS

FORT MADISON, Iowa — I was transferred from the Iowa Men's Reformatory in Anamosa to the John Bennett Correctional Center here in the southeast corner of the state on May 16. This was completely unexpected.

I found out about the move on May 15 after I was called out of my morning Spanish class and told to report to "R & D" — Receiving and Discharge. The officer there told me to get packed because I was being transferred to John Bennett. He gave me a few minutes to pack my things and bring them to

BEHIND PRISON WALLS

him. He went through every photo, piece of clothing, and book I had. He wasn't pleased about the quantity of letters sent by supporters, but he didn't try to prevent me from taking them along.

When my friends saw me moving they assumed I was finally going back to Level V. I had been on levels III and IV for several months. They were as surprised as I had been when I told them I would be transferred out the next day.

I tried to find the reasons for the transfer, but my counselor wasn't available. By chance I saw Warden Thalacker in the cellhouse and asked him. He said transfers are made for reasons of discipline, treatment, or because "it's the right thing to do." In my case, he said, "it's the right thing to do." When I asked if this was his decision, he said he takes part in every decision involving the transfer of an inmate.

Finally I did see my counselor that afternoon. "Sometimes we just transfer inmates," he said. "We don't have to give any reason." This was the same answer he gave when I asked whose idea it was to transfer me, how long it had been in the works, and why it hadn't been discussed with me beforehand. He refused to let me call my lawyer for

"security reasons." "This is not a step forward or backward," he said. "It is a step sideways, a lateral move."

The closest he came to giving me a reason was when he said, "We know you haven't been happy here for a while." I answered that I hadn't requested such a move or ever complained about not being "happy." Of course, no one is happy to stay in prison, and we all ask to be released when we see the parole board. What the counselor meant was that he and others were not happy with my political activities in the prison.

The successful fight for our right to receive Spanish-language literature in the prison and the continuing fight to correspond in languages other than English made the administration unhappy. So did the articles I wrote for the *Militant* about Native American inmates taking on the warden for the right to practice their religion and carry out cultural activities. I participated in and wrote about the success of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization — an inmates' group — in making books by Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, and others available to all the men at the prison.

My supporters outside the prison backed me in these political activities and, whenever I was victimized by my jailers, they mounted effective international protests.

On one occasion I was disciplined on a false charge of "gambling" and stripped of my elected position as secretary of the MLK Jr. Organization. I lost my telephone privileges and some visiting privileges. Still, I don't regret any of the things I did at Anamosa, only that I didn't do more of them.

Going through these experiences brought me closer to many other inmates at Anamosa. I have a lot of respect for the men there who refuse to be broken by the pressure of prison and the "criminal justice system." It was very hard to say good-bye. We exchanged addresses and phone numbers. Several guys assured me that they would follow my case and other political developments through the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. A few even said they would be writing articles for the *Militant*. For my part, I promised to continue my political activities. I am sure I will be meeting people of the same caliber here in my new location.

Trip to Fort Madison

We left the next morning at 8:00 a.m. Four prisoners and two guards made the trip. The other three inmates were headed for Fort Madison's maximum security penitentiary. Before we left we were strip-searched and given white coveralls. Our wrists were cuffed and locked to chains going around our waists. By twos, our ankles were chained together. My "partner" was someone I knew from MLK Jr. Organization activities. The other two, who were previously accused of spitting on guards, were forced to wear dust masks over their faces. Only their eyes could be seen. All three of them were being transferred for "disciplinary" reasons and had spent many weeks in lockup.

With a three-legged shuffle we all hobbled through the front doors of Anamosa and into a van. It was the first time I had been outside the walls in a year and a half.

We arrived in Fort Madison after a two-and-a-half-hour drive. We first went to the penitentiary to drop off the other three men.

The John Bennett Correctional Center, named after a previous warden, sits next to the Iowa State Penitentiary, about 20 feet from the east wall. The penitentiary was built 150 years ago and is the oldest prison west of the Mississippi.

John Bennett is a medium security facility, and instead of a wall, two chain-link and barbed-wire fences surround the grounds. From one corner of the prison, you can get a glimpse of the Mississippi River. One L-shaped building includes dorms, the kitchen, dining hall, a recreation hall with a TV and pool table, and staff offices. Two smaller buildings house a library, upholstery shop, print shop, and a school where high school classes are held. There is one guard tower out front, and the penitentiary towers look out over the yard in back.

There is a higher percentage of Blacks here than at Anamosa, and the average age seems to be higher. I have met the one Mexican prisoner here. Quite a few of the inmates have been "inside the walls" at the penitentiary. Being sent here was a step forward for them.

The entire Iowa State Prison complex includes the penitentiary of 550 inmates, the John Bennett Correctional Facility, and two minimum security "farms" of a few hundred men.

There are 125 men here, housed in two dorms. Each dorm has four rows of beds, some bunked. Besides a bed, the only other furniture we each have is a small cabinet with drawers. The institution provides a footlocker kept under the bed.

It's fairly quiet in the dorms, in spite of the crowded conditions, and everyone must use earphones with the radio and TV sets. I was surprised to find that we have cable TV here. There is no commissary to buy necessities, but we can order every two weeks from a list of items.

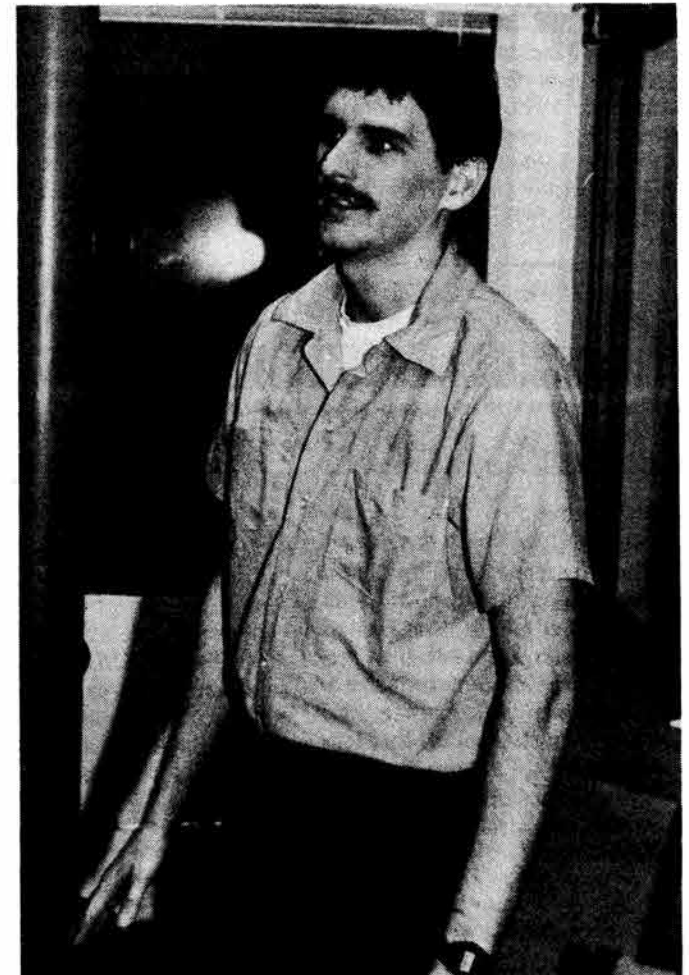
One big plus here is being able to use the telephone. We're allowed to make collect calls during the day and in the early evening.

There are three counts each day, when a buzzer sounds, and all must stand by their beds to be counted.

Out in the yard a roofed shed holds weightlifting equipment. There is also a combination basketball and tennis court and a horse-shoe pit. A unique sport called "Hooverball" is played in a sandlot volleyball pit. Opposing four-man teams play by heaving a nine-pound medicine ball back and forth over a volleyball net. Your team scores when someone on the other team drops the ball while trying to catch it. The ball is heavy, and it often knocks down even the biggest guys when they catch it.

The visiting policy here is also better. We are allowed more visitors than at Anamosa and can have 12 visits each month. A small front yard with picnic tables is used for visits in nice weather.

I started work in the kitchen on the main-



Militant/Stu Singer
Mark Curtis at state prison in Anamosa, Iowa.

Argentine journalist gets phone interview with Mark Curtis

After a couple of calls to Iowa prison officials at Fort Madison on June 11 requesting an interview with Mark Curtis, Argentine journalist Luis Bilbao received a collect call from Curtis the following day. It was a short interview. Prisoners are only permitted 10 minutes for phone calls.

"I was impressed by his strength," Bilbao remarked. "He is very conscious of the reason that he is in prison, for defending Latin American workers. He is very confident in the future of his cause."

Curtis' message to Latin American workers: "We share a common fight, be it for my release or your struggle against the Third World debt. Through solidarity we can strike at a common enemy."

Bilbao writes for a newspaper called *Sur* (South) published in Buenos Aires. The daily has a circulation of nearly 40,000 throughout Argentina and is also distributed in Uruguay and Paraguay. He is a foreign correspondent for several other Latin American and European newspapers, as well.

Bilbao was in the United States to cover the Bush-Gorbachev summit in early June. As someone who has been active in defense of human and workers' rights, and Latin American sovereignty, he is very interested in Curtis' situation and in getting facts out about the case throughout Latin America.

How to write Mark Curtis

✉ Address letters to Mark Curtis #805338, Box 316 JBC Dorm, Fort Madison, Iowa 52627. Sender's full name and address must be in upper left of envelope. Sign name in full at end of letter. Greeting cards and photos less than 8½ x 11 inches are permitted.

Nicaraguan unionists sign to back international Curtis defense effort

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Thirty-five people, the majority of them trade union activists, added their names as endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at a recent reception here. The affair was held to express appreciation for the ongoing work of the Nicaragua Bureau of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Most of the 125 participants in the festivities were members of unions affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). Among the labor officials present were Lucio Jiménez, the CST president, and several other members of the federation's executive board. Also attending were Rafael Cáceres, president of the Miners Federation of Nicaragua, which organizes gold miners; José Angel Bermúdez, who heads the public employees' union that led a militant strike here in May; and Mario Malespín, leader of the postal and telephone workers' union, which also participated in the strike.

Union activists were on hand from the Rolter shoe factory, La Toña brewery, Polymer plastics plant, ENAVES and El Triunfo garment shops, and the IMEP steel fabricating plant, among others.

Guests came as well from the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), including Benigna Mendiola, a leader of the organization and a Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) deputy in the National Assembly. There was participation from the FSLN, and from the Center for Costeño Unity, an organization supporting the struggle of the indigenous peoples and Blacks living on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

tenance crew. We sweep, mop, and do anything the supervisors need done. I will be eligible for a job change after 30 days. I work every day for several hours in the afternoon.

The day after I arrived a young inmate introduced himself to me as someone who had been following my case in the newspapers. His father is a union official in Des Moines, Iowa. They have discussed my defense campaign and support me.

I am sure I will be meeting more men like him who want to discuss politics, read the *Militant* and *Pathfinder* books, and become part of the fight to make a better society for working people.

I cannot control where I am sent while in prison, just as workers cannot control whether they have a job from one day to the next. But I can and will continue to be the same political activist, union man, and revolutionary socialist I was when I entered prison.

Also attending were activists from El Salvador, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, France, West Germany, and the United States.

Many of those present had learned of the international campaign in defense of framed-up union activist Mark Curtis from articles in *Perspectiva Mundial*. Others heard about the case for the first time at the reception.

An appeal for support to the Curtis defense committee was presented by Vidal Cruz, the political secretary of the Sandinista Front at the IMEP fabricating plant. Cruz, who is a production worker in the factory and a long-time reader of *Perspectiva Mundial*, was part of a delegation of half a dozen IMEP workers at the event.

Cruz summarized the stakes in the Curtis fight and urged everyone present to sign cards endorsing the defense committee. "This compañero has been in solidarity with our revolution," he said. "Now he needs our solidarity, our moral support, and we must give it to him."

"We, the workers of Nicaragua, as part of the international working class, have to support workers in the United States, who are also victims of the Yankee government in their own country," the union leader added.

Those who endorsed the defense committee at the reception included Rafael Cáceres, together with several other members of the miners' union; Hazel Law, a former Sandinista Front deputy in the National Assembly who is now with the Center for Costeño Unity; Mauricio Salguera, union president at La Toña brewery; Ramón Meneses, commentator on La Primerísima radio station; and Manuel Gutiérrez of the CST executive board.

Strikers picket Shugrue at travel agents' meeting

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news

sign of a striking Machinist outside Atlanta's Hyatt Regency Hotel. He was among a group of IAM members and former Eastern pilots who were picketing during an Eastern Airline's luncheon for travel agents and employees on June 6. Eastern trustee Martin Shugrue was the fea-

was denied the right to attend the public meeting. They cheered him as he was hauled away in the patrol car.

On June 2 unionists in Boston held a strike T-shirt day on the picket line at Logan International Airport. Eastern strikers were joined by members of the International Union of Electronic Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers union from the Boston area. Wearing their T-shirts with the Eastern strike symbol, the unionists walked through the airport terminal and maintained their presence inside for more than two hours.

The next day, Eastern strikers and supporters participated in the Dorchester Day Parade in Boston. The event is an annual tradition, and this year's theme was "organized labor." A van from IAM Local 1726 was entered in the parade, painted with the words "Machinists union" and "On strike against Eastern and Continental airlines." A contingent of strikers and other IAM members marched in front of the van.

In St. Louis a barbecue was held at United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 325's union hall on June 3 to benefit the Eastern strikers and striking Greyhound bus drivers. Among the 200 people attending the event were union members from the IAM, UAW, United Steelworkers of America (USWA), International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, and others.

The barbecue was preceded by a rally on May 24 of 700 people at the IAM District 9 hall in support of the strikers at Eastern, Greyhound, and several local companies in the St. Louis area.

Bob Taylor, general chairman of IAM District 100, speaking on behalf of Eastern strikers, explained, "Lorenzo is gone because of labor solidarity. Now we have Marty Shugrue. He'll be gone too if he doesn't settle the strike fairly."

Al Libbra of the Illinois Farm Alliance urged workers and farmers to support each other's fights. "We have the same enemies. We do the work, the rich sit back and collect the cream, and we get the skim. We make it, they take it. If you're work-

ing, donate money to these strikers and get out on the picket lines. They're fighting for us all."

Several other unionists also spoke, including from the Amalgamated Transit Workers union on strike at Greyhound, St. Louis Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO, and the USWA.

On July 1 a solidarity walk-through will be held at the Pittsburgh International Airport from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.. A flier issued by IAM Lodge 1044 says, "The airline workers have held out for 15 months in order to win decent jobs with dignity. Now is the time to keep the pressure on to get all the union workers back to work with a contract. This is a fight for the entire labor movement — a chance to make a stand and win a victory against union-busting." For more information contact the IAM at (412) 262-3211.

Striking IAM member Maggie Pucci from Boston, Dennis Gallie and Jim Rogers from St. Louis, and Liz Ziers from Atlanta contributed to this column.



SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

date, Wednesday, June 13, the strike was in its 467th day.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, Canada, Bermuda, Sweden, New Zealand, France, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

"Y-not a fair contract," read the

tured speaker at it.

One striker commented, "The face has changed, only the tactics remain the same," which is a reference to Shugrue's refusal to negotiate with the IAM. Another striker said that he had expected better of Shugrue. "I never thought I'd be out here 14 months," he explained, "but if I have to, I'll be out this time next year."

One pilot was arrested by Atlanta police for refusing to leave the travel agents' meeting. Several participants expressed anger that the pilot

New York union rally protests award to Lorenzo

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

NEW YORK — On June 12 Frank Lorenzo, former head of Eastern Airlines, received a distinguished alumnus award presented by the John Jay Associates, an alumni group from Columbia University. The ceremony was held at the New York Public Library here.

But outside the library, dozens of unions protested and handed out their own "awards." More than 300 Eastern, Greyhound, and Domsey strikers and other trade unionists rallied.

Lorenzo had been scheduled to receive the award in March 1989, but Columbia University canceled it due to protests from local area unions and students and unions at Columbia.

Eastern strikers from Kennedy and La Guardia airports in New York City were on hand, and groups of strikers came from Buffalo, New York; Newark, New Jersey; and Philadelphia. A contingent of 40 garment workers on strike against Domsey Trading turned out, as did a contingent of members of the Amalgamated Transit Union on strike against Greyhound.

An impressive array of representatives from various unions and organizations spoke from atop a rented flatbed truck. Charles Bryan, president of International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 100, spoke and explained, "Until we have labor peace there will not be a safe airline. There will not be a healthy airline."

Eastern strikers held hand-made signs that read, "No contract! No peace!" Other signs called on Eastern trustee Martin Shugrue to negotiate with the IAM to settle the strike.

The Machinists decided to present their own "award" to Lorenzo. A striker posing as

Lorenzo was given the "extinguished alumnus award" — a styrofoam plane made to look like an Eastern airliner. When "Lorenzo" took his award in hand, it fell apart.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union members who are on strike against the Domsey Trading Co. in Brooklyn, also made an "awards" presentation to their bosses — Arthur, Cliff, and Peter Salm — a placard with a big "zero" painted on it.

Domsey Trading made \$13 million last year in sales of used clothing at their Brooklyn outlet and through exports to Third World countries. The 300 workers, who sort the clothing and pack it in cargo containers, make \$3.75 an hour with no overtime pay or benefits.

At Domsey the bosses refuse to learn workers' names, instead calling them by number. That's why the Domsey strikers thought it fitting that their bosses receive their own number — zero.

Jean Bonnet, a strike leader from Domsey also spoke from the platform. In an interview later, Bonnet explained, "The rally will help the strike. If more people knew and understood why we are on strike, then they would support us."

Another feature of the rally was a series of speakers from among unions and students at Columbia. Maida Rosenstein, representing United Auto Workers (UAW) District 65 at the university, read several letters from alumni opposing the decision to give Lorenzo the award. She also reported that a petition signed by students and workers on the campus had been presented to the university administration. Marion Porro, president of New York Public Library union Local 1930 also condemned the decision to award

Lorenzo and pledged to continue solidarity with the Eastern strike.

Other speakers included Mike Alvino, president of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union; John Kennedy, president of the New York Stereotypers; and Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, UAW, who spoke on behalf of the Nelson Mandela New York Anti-Apartheid Welcoming Committee. A representative of the New

York Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO also spoke.

An announcement from the platform about Nelson Mandela's speaking engagements in New York was greeted with cheers.

Participants were also encouraged to attend an expanded picket line at La Guardia Airport on June 23 at 11:00 a.m. to support the Eastern strikers.

Greyhound files bankruptcy

Continued from front page

of \$1 billion. That was its first yearly profit since 1985.

In May the National Labor Relations Board ruled against Greyhound for unfair labor practices. This could make the bus company liable for \$13 million in back pay for every month the strike continues.

Before the bankruptcy filing, the company missed more than \$20 million in scheduled debt payments while at the same time spending \$70 million for private security firms, training 3,400 scab drivers, and other moves to break the union and keep the buses rolling during the strike.

To counter the impact of the strike and to convince potential riders the strike is over, for example, Greyhound recently launched an \$11 million advertising campaign targeting the Black community.

In response to this campaign a number of Black figures in New York signed a statement calling on riders to "please use other bus lines or alternate means of transportation if your plans call for travel over the summer." The statement pointed out, "Greyhound workers are among the most poorly paid union workers in the country and most of them come from the African-American and Latino communities."

According to a report in the June 9 *Amsterdam News*, the statement was signed by Congressman Major Owens; actor Ossie Davis; Rev. Herbert Daughtry; Rev. Calvin Butts; Assemblyman Roger Green; Stanley Hill, executive director of American Federation State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, United Auto Workers; Jim Bell, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and James Butler, president of AFSCME Local 420.

On June 12 some 60 Greyhound strikers joined a New York action organized by Eastern Airlines strikers to protest an award ceremony for Frank Lorenzo, the head of Eastern's parent company, Texas Air Corp.

At the action, Harold Mendlowitz, president of ATU Local 1202, invited those present to participate in a march in Washington, D.C.,

on June 19 to highlight the strike and to launch a nationwide boycott of the bus company. The rally will be held at 10:30 a.m. at the Greyhound terminal. Jesse Jackson is scheduled to speak.

Oregon paper mill workers end strike, beat back concessions

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

TOLEDO, Ore. — After 11 weeks on the picket line, 400 striking pulp and paper workers ended their strike here against Georgia-Pacific Corp. The May 7 vote to end the strike came one day after the company decided to put the Toledo mill and 19 others up for sale.

The contract calls for a 5 percent wage increase over the length of the agreement. It lasts 18 months or one year past the sale of the mill, whichever comes first.

Bryce Jackson, president of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (AWPPW) Local 13, termed the settlement "a victory" for the union. "This was a battle won, not a war," commented Jackson. The company dropped all of the takeback demands of their original proposal.

"We're not on strike anymore but we're still pretty solid, pretty strong. We're not letting the momentum stop. We're training for the next go-around," the union president said in a telephone interview.

The company was demanding 19 takeaways from the paper mill workers, including elimination of time-and-a-half pay for Sunday work, doubling of health insurance premiums, forcing retirees to pay for their own medical plan, reduction in holidays, limiting pay for workers who retrain, and forcing workers to do jobs out of their classifications.

Workers at the mill have had no wage increase since 1986. In 1984 they lost their 100 percent health and welfare coverage when the company forced them to begin paying deductibles.

The AWPPW broke away from the United Paperworkers International Union in 1965. It organizes 16,000 workers in four states — California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska.



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Contingent of 40 Domsey strikers joined rally and gave out 'award' to their bosses.

Fidel Castro recalls his meeting with Malcolm X in Harlem in 1960



Cuban President Fidel Castro with Malcolm X (right).

The following message was presented in person by Cuban President Fidel Castro on May 24 to the participants in the symposium "Malcolm X Speaks in the '90s," held in Havana.

Castro's message refers to a meeting he had with Malcolm X at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem in New York City. The meeting occurred in September 1960 when Castro was in New York to address the United Nations General Assembly. The Cuban delegation to the meeting was subjected to severe restrictions by the State Department (for example, it was confined to the island of Manhattan) and to an intense slander campaign in the press.

One of the results of these attacks was that the Cubans were evicted from the Shelbourne Hotel where they were staying. Castro publicly suggested that the delegation might set up tents in Central Park. Then the offer came from Harlem that the delegation would be welcome to stay at the Hotel Theresa. While the Cubans were at the Harlem hotel large crowds — up to 10,000 — gathered each night to rally and express their solidarity.

As soon as it was announced that the Cubans were going to stay in Harlem, they immediately received offers from hotels throughout Manhattan, including ones that had previously turned the delegation down. The plush Commodore Hotel offered free lodgings.

But the Cubans declined these invitations and stayed in Harlem and the attacks became even more intense. In the opening of his September 26 speech to the United Nations, Castro, referring to this racist and anti-Cuba barrage, said, "Already in Harlem, since nobody could stop us from living there, the campaigns of slander and defamation began. The news was bruited about that the Cuban delegation had found itself a home in a brothel. For some, a humble hotel in Harlem, a hotel inhabited by the Negroes of the United States, may obviously be a brothel."

"But besides this," the Cuban leader continued, "they have heaped slander on the Cuban delegation without even respecting the female members of our delegation who work with our delegation or are part of our delegation. Were we of the caliber of men that we are described as, then imperialism would not have lost hope, as it has lost hope long ago, of buying us or seducing us in some way."

In addition to meeting Malcolm X, who at

the time was nationally the most well-known leader of the Nation of Islam and minister of its Harlem temple, Castro met with other Black rights leaders, including Robert Williams, a militant figure in the fight against segregation in North Carolina.

The Cuban delegation included Juan Almeida, who was then chief of staff of the Cuban army.

The text was provided by the Cuban mission to the United Nations.

* * *

We have always been in solidarity with the struggle of Black people, of minorities, and of the poor in the United States. We have always been in solidarity with them, and they have been in solidarity with us.

We must fight to defeat the campaigns, the schemes, and the lies, all that is aimed at separating us. I think that in these times we need that friendship more than ever, and we need your solidarity more than ever. And we fully appreciate it, because we understand that one has to be very courageous to organize a rally supporting Cuba in the United States.

The value of the action cannot be measured by the number of people participating, but by the fact that they participate, by the courageousness it took to do so in moments when socialism seems to be collapsing.

And it is really collapsing in many countries where there never was true socialism. One of the premises of true socialism is that it arise from the people themselves. It cannot be given to you or built for you; it has to spring from the struggle of the people itself, as has been the case of socialism in Cuba.

In spite of all those disasters, we feel more committed than ever to socialism and to the revolution, to defending it and to proving that it is a thousand times superior to any other social system. I think this is in the interest of all the peoples.

If reactionary ideas prevail, if they gain supremacy in the world, that supremacy will be directed against all the Third World countries. Those reactionary forces will direct their supremacy against the people of the United States itself. This is a fact, because those who attack us are also the enemies of all just causes everywhere in the world, including in the United States.

Cuba has an important role to play, a very big responsibility, because there were people who thought that the revolution here would collapse just like socialism fell over there.

They had set the date, day and month. There were people in Miami already packing their bags to come over here. Their clothes will be eaten by moths!

But of course, this country will resist. We are waging three great battles: the political battle, where we maintain the unity of the people, the support of our people, the determination of our people; the economic battle, which is even more difficult here than elsewhere given the conditions we face; and the battle for defense.

We have to work in these three directions. But we are not doing this for ourselves. We are doing it for all the just causes of this world, at a time of skepticism. Optimism and the hope of the peoples will again be born, because the negative forces will not prevail.

We want the people of the United States, — Black people, Latinos, Asians, and all the nationalities within the United States, everyone with a spirit of justice — to understand this.

We are very grateful that you have participated in this meeting in Cuba, in this seminar in remembrance of Malcolm X. Now, more than ever, we have to remember Malcolm X, Che [Guevara], and all the heroes of the struggle and the cause of the peoples. That is why the importance and significance you give to this anniversary has gladdened me so much.

At the Hotel Theresa

I always recall my meeting with Malcolm X at the Hotel Theresa, because he was the one who supported us and made it possible for us to stay there. We faced two alternatives. One was the United Nations gardens — when I mentioned this to the secretary-general [Dag Hammarskjöld], he was horrified at the thought of a delegation in tents there. But when we received Malcolm X's offer — he had spoken with one of our compañeros — I said, "That is the place, the Hotel Theresa." And there we went. So I have a personal recollection very much linked to him.

Years have passed and I regret not having

had more time to speak with him, because those days in New York were rough. It was madness. There were quite a number of people who had already left for the United States, a large number of Cubans who were against the revolution, and there were others who had resided there for a long time who were in favor. And then there were many people from the United States giving us "thumbs down" in the streets. But when we arrived in Harlem it was the complete opposite.

Almeida was with us; we were a little younger then. In fact, we didn't know much about politics. But we had a rebel spirit, a spirit of struggle. We were convinced of our cause. Of course, we did not have the experience that we inevitably have accumulated over many years. But we are still here, and we intend to continue being the cause of headaches.

'Up to the last minute'

Yesterday one of our comrades, [Cuban Vice-president] Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, turned 77 years old. We did not say anything to him — he was sitting here — and he certainly thought nobody remembered his birthday. By 11:00 p.m. — the meeting had started at 3:00 and lasted and lasted, with only one 20-minute recess — he was probably thinking: How cruel these people are, see how they celebrate my birthday. That lasted until the end, when we said, "Today is Carlos Rafael's birthday." Then everybody sang "Happy Birthday" in Spanish, there were snacks, and we even had some drinks — which is unusual in this place — and in the end there was even a cake, everything.

I am telling you all this, because at the end, when he was leaving, he embraced me — he was very moved, he was sentimental yesterday, every time someone greeted him he almost cried, or cried — but what I want to point out is that I told him, "Carlos, we have to be here, at our posts, struggling up to the last day, the last hour, the last minute. . . ." And then I thought: What am I saying? I added, "Yes, up to the last hour, the last minute of our enemies."

Havana meeting discusses the legacy of Malcolm X

BY SELVA NEBBIA

The legacy of Malcolm X was recently celebrated in Havana, Cuba, at a symposium called "Malcolm X Speaks in the '90s."

The gathering, hosted by Casa de las Américas and the Center for the Studies of the Americas, took place May 19-24.

Cuban President Fidel Castro hosted a reception for the participants, where he made a brief presentation.

Among the participants was a delegation of 25 Blacks from the United States, explained journalist Rosemary Mealy, who attended the gathering. Among them was Kwame Toure, leader of the All African People's Revolutionary Party who was formerly known as Stokely Carmichael; James Turner of the Malcolm X Commemoration Committee; Odette Taverna, Executive Committee of the National Rainbow Coalition; and Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition.

Mealy pointed out that a paper was presented on Malcolm X's transition from a leader of the Nation of Islam to revolutionary nationalist. "Malcolm X as an internationalist, Malcolm and the issue of women, and how the left viewed Malcolm," were other subjects, she said, and "the Cuban partici-

pants looked at him from an internationalist aspect as well."

Malcolm X was assassinated 25 years ago in New York.

During the symposium, members of the U.S. delegation met with Cubans who had participated in internationalist missions in Africa. "Our delegation visited the Isle of Youth and the camp where Salvadoran combatants are being housed and rehabilitated," Mealy said.

Several African diplomats assigned to the various embassies in Cuba participated as observers in the seminar.

Many of those in the U.S. delegation signed a "Declaration of the African-American Delegation to the Malcolm X Speaks in the '90s."

The declaration calls on "all African peoples and progressive forces to join in building an active mass campaign of information and direct action protests to mobilize the American people around the important and urgent issue of keeping U.S. Hands Off Cuba."

The declaration also calls for the building of the International Conference on Malcolm X: Radical Tradition and Legacy of Struggle, to be held November 1-4 in New York City.



Juan Almeida (left) and Antonio Nuñez, director of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, part of the Cuban delegation that visited New York with Fidel Castro in 1960, in a Harlem restaurant.

'We must end old social order and in new one based on justice and

Speech by Nelson Mandela before South African business

The following address was given by Nelson Mandela, African National Congress deputy president, to a conference held in Johannesburg of the Consultative Business Movement, a group of South African businessmen. Entitled by the CBM as "Options for Building an Economic Future," the meeting was attended by 300 corporate executives. The text, delivered by Mandela May 23, was made available by the ANC Observer Mission to the United Nations. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: First of all, we would like to thank the Consultative Business Movement most sincerely for taking the initiative to convene what is for us a truly historic conference. The mere fact that it is taking place sends an

“On one side of the street are the haves — on the other, the have-nots; on one side, the whites — and on the other, the blacks . . .”

important signal about the need for all South Africans to get together to determine the destiny of our common fatherland.

Fully conscious of the fact that all of you are very busy people, we would also like to extend our appreciation to all of you that you abandoned some of your programs so that you could attend the conference.

Recently I had occasion to read an advertisement inserted in the British press by the Anglo American Corp. It begins by quoting various clauses of the Freedom Charter which have to do with job creation and the provision of food, housing, and education. It then poses the very important and correct question: "If the South African economy doesn't deliver, how can any politician hope to?"

That, in a sense, encapsulates the significance of this conference. Both of us — you representing the business world and we a political movement — must deliver. The critical questions are whether we can in fact act together and whether it is possible for either one of us to deliver if we cannot or will not cooperate.

We hope that the fact that we are meeting here signifies that there is a common acceptance among us that we necessarily must cooperate to ensure that the people do indeed enjoy a decent standard of living in conditions of freedom.

The haves and have-nots

To establish a system of cooperation requires that we should at least share some common objectives. But it also means that we have to overcome the mutual mistrust that, to some degree, undoubtedly exists between us. We do not have to elaborate the reasons for that mistrust. As South Africans we all know what they are. We know that they emanate from the fact that on one side of the street are the haves, and on the other, the have-nots; on one side, the whites, and on the other, the blacks.

The interaction that is taking place among us today — and hopefully, in other encounters in the future — should help in the process of identifying the common objectives which should become part of a national consensus that will help to bridge the enormous gulfs that separate the different communities in this country. As we discuss, we hope that some of the mistrust will fall away. But of course it will be in the process of the honest implementation of what would have been agreed, that this mistrust would finally disappear.

You will, I am certain, remember the nursery rhyme:

Baa, baa, black sheep,
have you any wool?

Yes sir, yes sir,
three bags full.

One for the master,
one for the dame,

one for the little boy
who lives down the lane.

Could it be that when the children composed this simple verse, they understood that it was only the figurative black sheep that would — because it was itself excluded — have a sufficient sense of justice and compassion to remember the little boy down the lane! Was it because they had seen in practice that the white sheep apportioned only a tenth of its wool, or none at all, to the little boy down the lane?

Question Shylock posed

Many a time the martingales and deprived people whom we represent have posed the same bitter question that Shylock posed in

Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*:

"Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is?"

"If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. . . . The villainy you teach me, I will execute; and it shall go hard, but I will better the instruction."

Questions such as these, whether about black sheep or the universal nature of human pain and suffering, can only be posed by people who are discriminated against, in a society that condemns them to persistent deprivation of the material artifacts and the dignity that are due to them as human beings. We pose them for the same reasons.

The bitterness of a Shylock, who threatens to execute and even better the villainy which his persecutors have taught him by their example, is a feeling that comes naturally to those who are hurt by systematic and systemic abuse. It should come as no surprise that it lurks in the breasts of many whom this society has considered and treated as disposable ciphers.

The issue we are addressing is the one of power and the uses and abuses of power. Those among us who are white come from that section of our population that has power, and in a sense, total power over the lives of the black people. Nothing within the sphere of human endeavor is excepted — be it political, economic, military, educational, or any other. Indeed, this even extends to the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

These may sound like harsh words, but the reality that is unseen inside the boardrooms, by those who exercise power, across the length and breadth of this country, is harsher still. The anger in the heart of Shylock is abroad in our society. This is a fact to which we should be very sensitive, without any attempt at self-deception.

United, democratic, nonracial

One of the fundamental issues that the process of transformation must address is the question of the structure of power. Within the political sphere, what has to be done seems clear enough. I think we would all agree that we must have a united, democratic, and non-racial South Africa. The specific manner in which this would be expressed in a constitution is something that will have to be negotiated, preferably within an elected constituent assembly.

I think we would also all agree that every adult citizen should have the right to vote and to be elected into an organ of government. There should be an entrenched and justiciable bill of rights, which should guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens.

People should be free to form or to belong to parties of their choice. There should be regular elections so that the people decide who should be in the driving seat. Power should devolve to lower organs of government so as to ensure the broadest participation of the people in the democratic process.

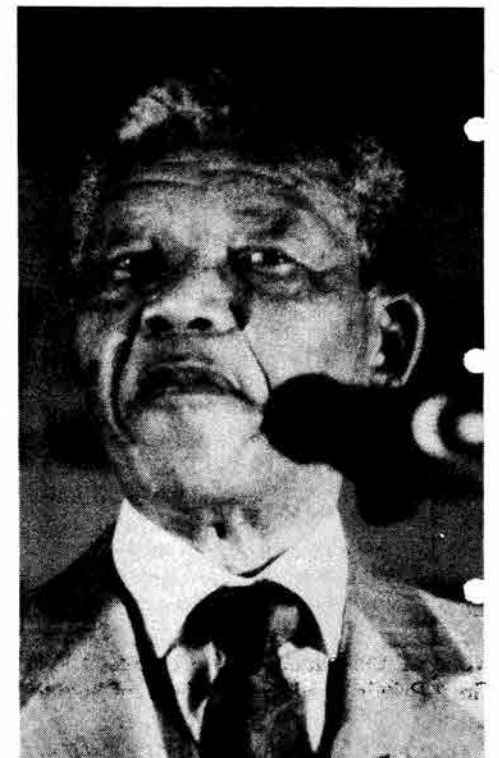
I would like to believe that on these and other political matters we are in agreement. Such an outcome is important both in itself and in order to create a situation of peace and stability. We should all accept fully that the economy cannot deliver unless the political objectives we have outlined are realized.

All this, of course, addresses the issue of the structure of political power. We are saying it must change radically. The cause of our discontent is, in part, our exclusion from the exercise of political power and our consequent condemnation to a situation of being

the victims of the abuse of power. The inclusion of all the people of South Africa within a genuinely democratic system will therefore remove this particular cause of our discontent.

87 percent of land white-owned

But then what about economic power? This, obviously, is one of the thorniest issues that must be addressed. It is said that less than 10 corporate conglomerates control almost 90 percent of the shares listed on the Johan-



Militant/Greg McCartan

Nelson Mandela

nesburg stock exchange. If somebody did any arithmetical calculation, he or she would probably find that the total number of people who sit on the boards of these companies as directors is far less than 1,000. These will almost exclusively be white males.

If you add to this the fact that 87 percent of the land is, by law, white owned and is in fact owned by a minority even among the whites, then the iniquity of the system we have all inherited becomes even more plain.

If we are genuinely interested in ending the old social order and bringing in a new one, characterized by the notions of justice and equity, it is quite obvious that the economic power relations represented by the reality of the excessive concentration of power in a few white hands have to change.

We make this demand not as a result of any imperative that might be said to derive

“We are dealing with South Africa, which has its own imperatives, one of which is to end white domination and deracialize economic power . . .”

from ideological convictions. We make it because we cannot see how it would be possible to pull our country out of the endemic crisis, in part caused and exemplified by white control of economic power, while at the same time we perpetuate this power structure.

Deracializing economic power

It might be said that international experience shows that it is wisest not to tamper with this power structure. The argument is made that the sanctity of private property and the



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Gold miners in a mine near Johannesburg. Under a new government, the ANC leader said, "questions of a living wage, job security, and industrial restructuring must be dealt with in a bargaining process" with the trade unions.

and bring equity' businessmen

incentive and dynamism that derive from private ownership, should convince all of us to accept, if not welcome, this economic power structure as a fact of life.

What we would like to say is that, while we look at economic models and study the experiences of other countries, we should not forget that we are dealing with South Africa, with its own history, its own reality, and its own imperatives. One of these imperatives is to end white domination in all its forms, to deracialize the exercise of economic power.

If we are agreed about this objective as it affects the economy, then, I trust, we can begin a serious discussion about how it should be achieved. It would seem to me necessary that this discussion, vigorous though it has to be, should not be conducted in a manner which makes healthy debate impossible. We would therefore have to avoid throwing epithets at one another, questioning one another's capacity to think, or challenging one another's good faith.

Today I am not going to present any argument about nationalization. I would however like to share a secret with you. The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalization and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues we shall have to consider as we discuss the question of the democratization and deracialization of economic power.

One of these is whether we should not draw on such lessons as we might learn from the antitrust laws of the United States or the work of the Monopolies Commission in Great Britain to address the issue of how to ensure that there is no unhealthy over-concentration of economic power. The application of those lessons would of course have to take into account the economic realities of our own country, which might dictate various optimal sizes for different firms.

The factors that would have to be considered would include the necessity to achieve economies of scale, the capacity to generate the necessary critical mass of investable funds, the strength to compete successfully on the international market, the ability to participate in serious research and development, and so on.

Another issue we might have to consider is the advisability or otherwise of the placement on the boards of privately owned companies of directors appointed by the government, to see whether it is possible to balance the pursuit of private gain with the need to promote the common good.

Role of trade unions

I would also like to stress that we do not want to have everything done by the new government. A healthy relationship between employers and trade unions is crucial to the country's future. We agree with the view that progressive labor legislation, allowing strong unions to carry out centralized bargaining, will help to solve many important issues. The questions of a living wage, job security, and industrial restructuring must be dealt with in the bargaining process.

Yet another question we might consider is whether there are no areas in which it would benefit society at large if the state established public corporations or strengthened existing ones. One of these areas might be housing, where it seems clear that there is an urgent need for vigorous state intervention rapidly to expand the country's stock of habitable accommodation. Another area is suggested by the need for state encouragement of small and medium business as well as the cooperative sector, especially as there is a crying need for the multiplication of economic activities that will lead to the creation of new jobs.

We might mention, at this point, that we are firmly opposed to the process of privatization on which the government has embarked.



Farm workers in the Transvaal. "Eighty-seven percent of the land is, by law, white owned," Mandela told the businessmen. "The iniquity of the system we have all inherited is plain."

It seems to us eminently wrong for the government to engage in this important restructuring exercise precisely at the moment when the whole country and the world expect that fundamental political change is in the offing.

It would seem only reasonable that so important a question as the disposal of public property should be held over until a truly representative government is in place. Addi-

“Before anything else is done, the racist and discriminatory land acts have to be repealed . . .”

tionally and inevitably, the process of privatization cannot but reinforce the economic power relations which we assert have to be changed.

Question of land

As we have said, the land question must also be addressed within the context of the restructuring of the old economic power relations. Recent state actions to sell state land and to evict people from white farms are entirely unhelpful to these purposes. Before anything else is done, the racist and discriminatory land acts have to be repealed. Furthermore, serious discussions and planning must take place involving the rural people and their representatives, the democratic government, those who own land, and the country as a whole so that we can all address the related issues of making land available to the land-hungry masses, while ensuring the necessary increases in the production of food and agricultural raw materials.

We still believe that there must be further discussion of the issue of nationalization of assets that might at the moment be privately owned. The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalized, or that such nationalization would take this or the other form.

But we do say that this option should also be part of the ongoing debate, subject to critical analysis as any other and viewed in the context of the realities of South African society. It should not be ruled out of the court of discussion simply because of previous bad experience or because of a theological commitment to the principle of private property.

We are very conscious of the critical importance of such matters as the confidence in the future of both the national and the international business communities and investors. We accept that both these sectors are very important to the process of the further development of our economy.

We can, therefore, have no desire to go out of our way to bash them and to undermine or weaken their confidence in the safety of their property and the assurance of a fair return on their investment. But we believe that they too must be sensitive to the fact that any democratic government will have to re-

spond to the justified popular concern about the grossly unequal distribution of economic power.

There should be no debate among us about the centrality of the issue of ensuring a rapidly growing economy. To ensure a rising standard of living, the gross domestic product must grow at rates that are higher than the rate of growth of the population. Various figures have been thrown around about the possible and desirable rates of growth. This conference will obviously not have the possibility to look at these figures and to study their macroeconomic implications.

Three points

But of course the issues, about which I am sure we are agreed, of the need to generate significant domestic savings, to attract substantial foreign investment, and to keep the rate of inflation reasonably low, are central to the discussion of the question of economic growth. Perhaps there are only three or four points we should raise at this stage.

One of these is that we are concerned at persistent reports that some of our own domestic companies have been and are involved in a process of exporting capital from this country. We cannot sit here, verbally welcome the prospect of democratic transformation, talk of the need to rapidly develop the economy, and at the same time reduce the means that would make such development actually possible.

The second point is that it is important that we should stop propagating the gloomy picture of a South Africa that, as it is said, will inevitably sink into the economic crisis that afflicts many African countries.

The third is that it seems obvious that the democratic parliament together with the public at large should elaborate a macroeconomic indicative national plan to provide a framework within which to determine the directions of growth policy. We are saying, in other words, that the process of growth cannot be left to develop spontaneously, because it would ineluctably result in the structural distortions and imbalances which have to be corrected.

In this connection, we should all accept the reality that growth by itself will not ensure equity. A situation could develop in which, in terms of levels of income, we continue to have a persistent gap between the haves and the have-nots, despite any increases that may take place in the standard of living of the latter.

I am therefore raising the question that the matter of the redistribution of wealth in conditions of a growing economy, is one that must be faced squarely and addressed firmly. I am sure it is common cause among us that the very fact of an expanding market, resulting from the process of wealth reaching those who were formerly deprived, is itself a condition for and an engine of economic growth.

We are of course all concerned about the need generally to raise the level of education of all our people, and in particular to rapidly increase the numbers of black engineers,

technicians, artisans, and other skilled persons. This would of course make a decisive contribution to the critical issue of the level of productivity in the economy as a whole.

It would also place the issue of the relative and absolute increase of income accruing to the black section of our population within the context of expanding national wealth, in whose expansion they would have played an important part.

Social welfare

The penultimate issue we wish to raise is the matter of public spending. There can be no doubt that the public finances will come under enormous pressure for increased spending in education, housing, health, unemployment benefits, pensions, and so on. It should be commonly agreed among us that the democratic state must indeed have a responsibility to provide this material cushion, at least to protect the most disadvantaged.

Certainly the present-day apartheid absurdity must be addressed whereby public per capita social spending on the whites is at least six times higher than on Africans. However complicated the economics of bridging this gap and instituting a rational system of social welfare which actually increases social welfare, something will have to be done in this area as a matter of urgency. Indeed we could say that even now, as we enter a period of transition, it might be necessary to establish mechanisms by which those who have been excluded from power play a role in determining the disbursement of public funds.

The concerns that have been raised with regard to the capacity of the tax base to carry a vastly increased state budget are of course important and legitimate. But in a situation of rapid economic growth such as we have spoken of, it would be necessary to review

“In the interests of all our people, the apartheid system must go now or the economy will be further destroyed . . .”

the system of taxation. The aim would be to reduce the burden of direct and indirect taxation on sections of the community least capable of looking after themselves and to shift more of the load onto the corporate sector, without of course producing a situation of diminishing returns.

Savings will come with apartheid's end

But obviously enormous savings will be made as a result of the abolition of the multi-headed hydra represented by the various apartheid administrative structures. Defense spending will also have to be reduced radically as a result of the thinning down of the

Continued on page 12

Socialist Workers hold convention

Delegates discuss labor struggles, crisis of Stalinism, building party

BY GREG McCARTAN

CHICAGO — The worldwide significance of the unfolding struggles of working people in the United States, the momentous events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and building parties of communist workers were the central themes of the 35th Convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Held here June 7-10, some 800 participants were welcomed to the opening session of the convention by SWP leader and *Militant* staff writer Selva Nebbia.

"This is the party that helped to organize artists and friends around the world to put Fidel Castro, Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, Karl Marx, Che Guevara, and other revolutionary fighters on the huge six-story Pathfinder Mural in the heart of New York City," Nebbia said.

"We are fighters who, together with thousands of others, are getting ready to give Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, the biggest possible welcome to the United States.

"Also among us are Eastern strikers, who have been walking the picket line for the past 462 days in what has been the longest and most important labor battle in four decades in the United States," she said.

Participants in the convention came from 19 countries. The majority are industrial workers — some are food workers in Sweden, auto workers from Canada, engineering workers from Britain, garment workers from the United States, or meat-packers from New Zealand.

International guests

Nebbia also introduced several special guests. Representing the African National Congress was Yusuf Saloojee, head of the North American and Caribbean Desk of the Department of International Affairs of the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia. Terry Marryshow, leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement from Grenada was also present. Both gave greetings to the meeting. Greetings were received from the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, the governing party in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The convention delegates also sent a message of solidarity to the Workers Party.

Marcelo Zugadi from the Executive Com-

mittee of the Movimiento de los de Abajo (Izquierda Unida) in Argentina; John Studer, executive secretary of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee; and defense committee leader Kate Kaku were also introduced. Curtis, a packinghouse worker and SWP member is serving a 25-year jail sentence in an Iowa prison on frame-up charges.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance, union activists, students, and workers on strike, were among the convention participants. Classes on a range of topics were held. These included on the current situation in South Africa, the political legacies of Ernesto Che Guevara and Malcolm X, the *Communist Manifesto*, Cuban revolution, developments in the struggle in Argentina and the Southern Cone, and on the political situation today in Nicaragua.

Convention participants also attended an international Mark Curtis defense rally hosted by Chicago supporters of the defense effort. (See article on front page.)

Discussion of convention resolution

The 63 convention delegates, elected by local branches of the party, discussed three reports on a World Political Resolution, prepared by the party's National Committee. Discussions on the resolution had been held in branches prior to the convention.

Fraternal delegates from Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Iceland, New Zealand, and Sweden also participated in the discussion.

The delegates voted to continue discussion on the resolution following the convention and to hold a second session of the convention in August. That session will also discuss separate reports on Nicaragua and South Africa.

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, presented the opening report. "The last year and a half have seen titanic events in the world," he said. "The year 1989 and the beginning of 1990 will surely go down as one of the famous and notable years of the 20th century.

"The tearing apart of the bureaucratic regimes in Eastern Europe; the beginning of the disintegration of the Stalinist iceberg in the Soviet Union; the progress in Cuba toward reconquering the revolution for the working people, for Marxism, and for socialism; the momentous events in South Africa,"

have changed the world, he said.

In the United States a more than 10-year offensive by the employers, aimed at breaking the resistance by working people to union-busting and takeback demands, has failed to drive the labor movement from the center stage of politics. "For revolutionists in this country who are determined to change the world, who are determined to build a truly socialist movement, a truly communist party, this is the most important fact," he said.

"The point men in the assault on labor," Barnes continued, tried to show the rest of the employers "that with a little effort, guts, and determination, the United States can become union free."

Eastern strike

This included employers such as Frank Lorenzo, who led the assault on the union at Eastern Airlines. Members of the International Association of Machinists have maintained a solid strike against Eastern since March 4, 1989. "This 'vanguard' layer of employers has made a grave misjudgment," Barnes said.

"No one would have thought 462 days ago that the Eastern strike would be continuing; that the core of strikers would have surpassed difficulty after difficulty; that more and more their goal has become not so much what they would win but what they would not let happen; that they would affect workers throughout the entire world; and that they would have a deep effect on fighting workers in industry after industry in this country."

In the strike by 9,000 members of the Amalgamated Transit Union against the Greyhound bus company, Greyhound Chairman Fred Currey "made the same misjudgment," and has declared bankruptcy like Lorenzo did. "It never occurred to the employers that while the workers haven't won, they can lose too," Barnes noted.

The defeat of Lorenzo when he was removed from Eastern's management, and replaced by the bankruptcy judge with Martin Shugrue, "increased the political character of the Eastern strike." In his position, Shugrue is a political representative of the employers as a whole. "He has to accomplish for the section of capital that Eastern Airlines represents what Frank Lorenzo was smashed trying to achieve," Barnes said.

Everything the employers, the owners, and the rulers as a whole are aiming to accomplish revolves around permanently replacing striking workers. "It is this framework for all these strikes that makes them the center of all the struggles of the labor movement. The workers are fighting for the most minimal thing — the right to bargain, sign a contract, go back to work, and the right to strike. That's what makes them so important," he said.

The coal bosses have also failed to "bring the miners under this same banner," which is why the miners' resistance plays such an important role in the class struggle.

The failure of the employers to break the resistance by the labor movement "raises completely new questions about the ability of Washington to go to war and brutalize people and about the explosive character of struggles against oppression, racism, exploitation, and degradation of any and all kinds. It raises the self-confidence and belief of those who are fighting so hard in other countries that new forces can be drawn into the fight," Barnes said.

The world today is marked by "the slow but real decline of the last empire that will ever grace the face of the earth, the empire of the United States. The imperialists are incapable of stabilizing the world," he said.

Washington lost Cold War

The U.S. government has lost the Cold War, Barnes said, because it is "no longer capable of avoiding a direct conflict with hundreds of millions from Eastern Europe and throughout Asia. They hoped that confronting the workers in the workers' states, in the countries that called themselves socialist, could be done through the Stalinist bureaucracy — through a combination of threats and summitry, threats and negotiations — to avoid the question that these workers will have to be defeated to reimpose capitalism. That hope is over," he said, "and over for all time."

The Cold War, he said, "was not a war by Washington against Moscow: it was the war

by Washington through Moscow to get the workers." This proved unsuccessful, and now the imperialists must directly confront the workers and farmers across Eastern Europe.

Moreover, with the steps towards monetary and political union between West Germany and East Germany, "No longer can anyone pretend that Germany, and the relation between the workers and those who want to exploit them, is under anyone's control, anyone's domination," he said. Less and less can the nuclear arsenal of the rulers in Washington be traded for political influence, concessions, and domination.

Struggle against apartheid

The victory that brings down apartheid in South Africa will politically revive the working-class movements in the imperialist countries, Barnes said.

"Real politics is not the politics of thousands, or even millions. It is the politics of tens of millions of people — the politics of the actions of people who over time begin making history. Every single thing that Nelson Mandela has done since he has walked out of that prison gate has reached to real politics, has reached to the millions, has reached to the countryside, has reached for the moral high ground of politics. On top of everything else that is happening in the world, it is this that is the greatest omen for the future."

Crisis of Stalinism

In a report entitled "U.S. Imperialism Has Suffered a Historic Defeat in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," SWP leader James Harris said "the blows struck by masses of working people in those countries against the Stalinist rulers are gains in the interest of workers and farmers everywhere."

The economic foundations and social conquests of these workers' states have proven stronger than decades of misrule by the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracies. The upsurge across Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have further weakened their rule, and exposed the obstacle they present to the advance of working people.

"The path is now more open," Harris said, "for working people in these countries to conquer more political space; to struggle to defend their rights, class interests, and past economic and social conquests; and to link up their struggles with those of workers and farmers around the world."

While the big-business media and government officials in imperialist countries announce themselves the victors over "communism," they actually "can do less to affect events in the workers' states and elsewhere than they have ever been able to."

Imperialism depended on the privileged caste in these countries, Harris said. The bureaucracy, numbering in the millions, is "a transmission belt for bourgeois ideas, attitudes, values, and ways of work."

This parasitic layer has "tied the hands of the working class, stolen from it, lied to it, depoliticized it, dissipated its energies, and sealed it off from its allies around the world," he said. Moreover, "they have done it in the name of communism."

"Above all, the workers are an obstacle to the restoration of capitalism, and they cannot be gotten around," Harris said. The events of the past few months "show that there will be no peaceful evolution to, or growing over into capitalism, in the workers' states," he said.

Working people there "have a different consciousness than most workers under capitalism because of the economic and social conquest of the workers' state. They find it hard to accept some things that we take for granted as norms of capitalism."

This includes not accepting unemployment and the devastation caused by swings in the capitalist business cycle. They do not want to give up a social wage — low-cost health care, free tuition, low rents, subsidized food — as part of their wages, and they believe that "peace, not war, is a prerequisite for social progress."

As struggles unfold to defend these gains, "workers in these countries will find that more than their trade union consciousness and organization is needed to insure any lasting and stable defense of their gains and to regenerate the workers' state. They will find that a communist movement and a Marxist vanguard is needed," Harris said.

"Fundamental to the fight for socialism is

What to read on the Socialist Workers Party

This issue of the *Militant* reports on the discussion and decisions of a recent convention of the Socialist Workers Party. To learn more about the party's views, get these books and pamphlets:

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics *Building a Party of Socialist Workers*

Reports and resolutions of the SWP from the late 1970s. Edited by Jack Barnes
346 pp. \$14.95

Revolutionary Perspective & Leninist Continuity in the U.S.

1985 resolution, available in *New International* No. 4.
\$6

An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis

Cancel the Third World debt!
Shorten the workweek!
Enforce affirmative action!
\$1 English or Spanish
\$2 in French

The Coming Revolution in South Africa *By Jack Barnes*

Available in *New International* No. 5.
\$5

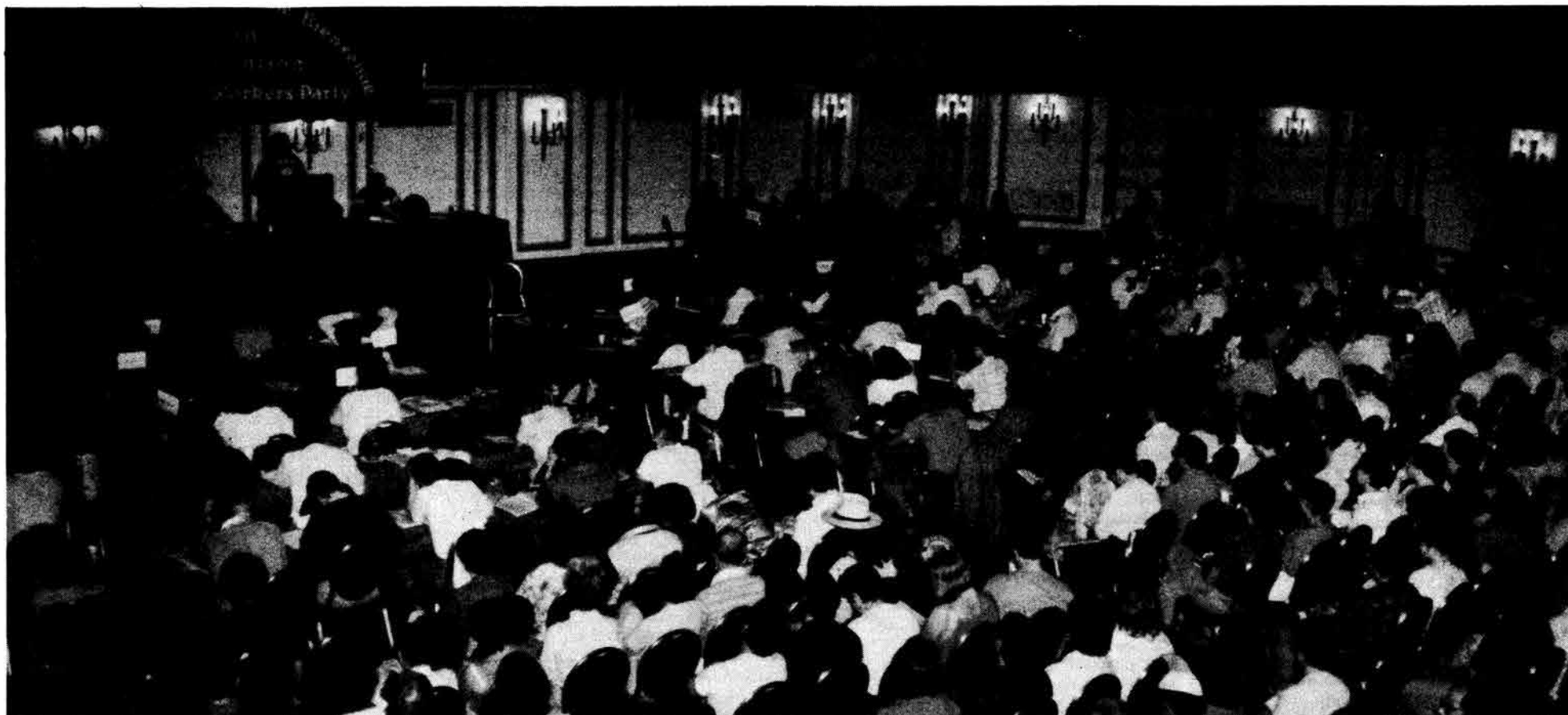
Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party

24 pp. \$5.00

The Structure & Organizational Principles of the Party

By Farrell Dobbs
37 pp. \$5.00

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12. Or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 for each book for postage and handling.



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Socialist Workers Party leader James Harris reporting to convention session. Some 800 participated from 16 countries.

the fight for national self-determination," Harris continued. "This is bound up with the fight to liberate the rural toilers and assure them the right to work the land."

Socialism, he said, "cannot be built on the backs of captive and oppressed nations. The Stalinist regimes have reestablished the prison house of nations, and in so doing they have made the breakup of the Soviet Union inevitable," as oppressed nations rise up and demand self-determination. "The only way forward to uniting the working class internationally," he said, "is to champion the right to self-determination."

The growing crisis of these regimes "is a positive development that opens the door for the real continuity of communism to make itself heard," Harris stressed. "It gives the opportunity for those reaching out to revolution and communism to actually reach it, instead of being blocked" by Stalinism.

Building communist parties today

The progress made, and challenges ahead, in building the Socialist Workers Party was the central theme of the report to the convention by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New Internationalist*. Building the SWP cannot be separated from actively collaborating with other communist organizations around the world, she said.

Waters, a longtime leader of the SWP, said the party had "conquered the turn to industry." In 1978 the party decided to get the big majority of its membership into the industrial unions and to make the axis of its political work the industrial working class.

Since then the party has gone through the experiences of the recession in 1981-82 and the rout of the unions that followed; responded to the upsurge in the meat-packing industry; built and strengthened branches in coal mining regions; organized active supporters of the party and helped to build the Young Socialist Alliance; and met the challenge posed by the arrest and frame-up of Mark Curtis. This has included taking on the disruption effort of Curtis' defense by the international antilabor outfit known as the Workers League.

Conquering the turn to industry "took something else in addition to that: the experience of the last two years with the Eastern strike, the Pittston strike, the labor battles of 1989 and 1990 and the proof that we were ready for them," Waters said.

"We have made the working class our political milieu," she said, "organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, urban and rural, native born and immigrant. Sales of our press and books, and our campaigns and participation in the broader struggles of working people are from within the working class."

Through these experiences "we have learned above all that our 10 industrial union fractions are not our fractions." Party members in the unions are part of a broader vanguard of fighters in the working class today, she said.

These accomplishments must be seen from within the perspective of building and rebuilding a world communist movement. "Our starting point has never been politics in

the United States," Waters said.

Waters reviewed the party's growing collaboration with the Communist Leagues in seven countries — building support for the Eastern strike, the deepening work of establishing a fraction of socialist coal miners in different countries, reaching out to the struggles of working farmers, and winning broad support for the Mark Curtis defense campaign.

International collaboration

"It is along these lines and through these kinds of efforts that the international communist movement is being built," Waters said.

Recent successes in the international circulation of the *Militant* and the distribution of books and pamphlets by Pathfinder Press "confirm everything we have been discussing at the convention. In the final week of the last circulation campaign we sold almost 1,200 subscriptions to the *Militant*."

Waters pointed to the increase in the percentage of subscribers to the *Militant* who are unionists, going from 18 to 24 percent during the recent circulation campaign. The jump, Waters said, reflects "who we are selling to and who is responding, because they need the paper, just like we need the paper."

In addition to the *Militant*, Pathfinder sales have also risen. Some 13,000 copies of *The Struggle Is My Life* by Nelson Mandela, plus 500 copies of *Habla Nelson Mandela*, have been sold since the beginning of the year. Fifteen hundred copies of *New Internationalist* No. 5, that contains a feature article by Jack Barnes on the character and world significance of the revolution in South Africa have been sold.

These efforts have been bolstered by steps taken by local Pathfinder bookstores to increase their sales, and sales of books to workers on the job, Waters said.

"Since the beginning of 1990 we've sold more than 21,000 copies of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, as well as tens of thousands of copies of other Malcolm titles," Waters reported. Total unit sales of Pathfinder have increased by one-third over the first part of 1989.

'Militant' paper of workers worldwide

"This is what we are about," Waters explained, "getting this kind of literature in the hands of fighting people around the world. We have to recognize the *Militant* is no longer our newspaper," and Pathfinder is "no longer our publishing house." The *Militant* "is the paper of thousands around the world. This is more true today, because of the growing layer of workers around the world who rely on it to tell the truth and to orient them to what is going on in the world. It has become the paper of a world movement of parties in at least eight countries," she said.

Pathfinder's books and pamphlets are "weapons for the front-line fighters the world over to advance the struggle for national liberation and socialism, and to advance the building of a communist movement internationally," she said.

A large display on the Pathfinder Mural

and the book and pamphlet titles of the publishing house were the centerpiece of the booths at the convention. The *Militant*, the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the French language *Lutte ouvrière* were also featured. The African National Congress, the Young Socialist Alliance, and Eastern strikers also displayed and sold literature, T-shirts, and buttons.

Convention participants snapped up 550 copies of Pathfinder's latest release, *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*, by Karl Marx and Leon Trotsky.

Waters stressed that the accomplishments of the *Militant* and Pathfinder are a result of the international efforts at promotion, distribution, organizing reporting teams, and selling. For example, Pathfinder sales in Canada have grown six-fold in two years.

The recent speaking tours in Canada and the United States by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada are another example of the kind of international collaboration that is central to building communist parties today.

Tablada is the author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* published by Pathfinder. He spoke on 26 college campuses in six weeks across the United States, reaching thousands of young people. In addition, he addressed unionists and citywide meetings.

Response from youth

His campus meetings, ranging from 30 to 150 youths who "came to hear about Che Guevara, communism, and the Cuban revolution," show the opportunities for attracting youth on the college campuses to communism, Waters said. "The party needs to organize to get on campuses to speak, to set up classes, to go out and work to recruit young people to the YSA."

Through conquering the turn to industry and working along this common axis with other communist organizations, the SWP has become "not part of an ambiguous and classless 'left,' but a fraction of our class, of revolutionary fighters on a world scale, of

communists of the world," Waters said.

The Socialist Workers Party is the oldest communist party in the world, with a 60 year unbroken history. And its communist continuity goes back to Marx and Frederick Engels, "through V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks and the victory of the October 1917 revolution in Russia, which changed the course of history and the course of our century," she said.

The SWP's political continuity "goes through the Communist International in the early years; it goes through the Bolshevik-Leninists of the 1920s who were the first communists to oppose 'perestroika' and 'new thinking,' the communists that worked together through the lean and hard years of the 1930s, the '40s, and the '50s to assure communist continuity; and it goes through the victory of the Cuban revolution," she said.

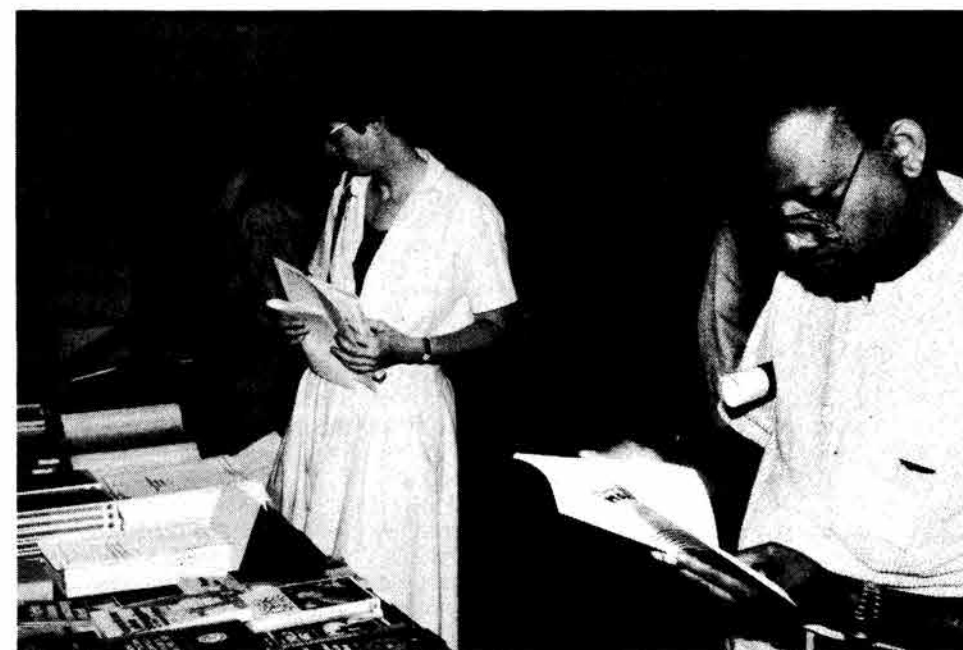
Like the Russian revolution, the Cuban revolution changed the world. The most important result of the Cuban revolution was the "renewal of communist leadership on an international scale," Waters said.

Today this factor "has a historical weight on a world scale. It is even more important today than at anytime since the beginning of the Cuban revolution. These are the stakes involved in the rectification process and the course the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party has charted internationally."

"We approach solidarity with Cuba," Waters said, "not just from the point of view that Cuba needs it, but from the standpoint of building and rebuilding the world communist movement. We approach the Cuban revolution from its place in the world and the role of its communist leadership."

"For the Socialist Workers Party," Waters said, "being part of an international communist movement is a question of the political life and death of a communist party."

Strengthening international collaboration will "take us into the world together with other communists. Through titanic battles that are coming in the 1990s, we are confident that this course will be deepened by the Socialist Workers Party," she concluded.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Convention participants bought Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Environmental Destruction in Arizona. What are the issues, how can the process be reversed? Speakers: activists from Arizonans for a Better Environment, Twenty-first Century Foods, Earth First!, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 23, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Protecting the Environment: A Marxist View. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 22, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Protecting the Environment: A Marxist View. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*. Sun., June 24, 4:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (at Mission). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Report from South Africa. Presentation and slideshow by Margrethe Siem, *Militant* photographer and correspondent who recently reported on the upheaval in South Africa. Sat., June 23. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donations: dinner \$2.50, forum \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Inside Cuba Today: Deepening the Struggle for Socialism. Speaker: Estelle DeBates, member National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 23, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Report Back from 1990 Venceremos Brigade to Cuba. Speakers: Nancy Brown, Socialist Workers Party, Eastern striker and member International Association of Machinists at Washington National Airport; Dick Ochs, coordinator Baltimore Emergency Response Network. Sat., June 16. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donations: dinner \$3, forum \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Film: The Global Assembly Line. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Rally to Support Justice for Mark Curtis. Speakers: Alfredo Alvarez, president, Iowa Hispanic Advocacy Network, former chairperson Des Moines Human Rights Commission; others. Sun., June 24, 4 p.m. Immanuel Lutheran Church, 3540 Marcus. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Tel: (314) 773-4709.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Nelson Mandela: Free at Last. Video and discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 16, 7

p.m. 140 S 40th Donation requested. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Cuba Mobilizes to Defend Its Revolution. Speakers: Jon Hillson, *Militant* correspondent at May Day events in Cuba; Ernie Mailhot, member of international unionists' delegation to May Day events, staff coordinator International Association of Machinists Local 1018 on strike against Eastern. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., June 16, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

The Coming Revolution in South Africa: "Intensify the Struggle." Speakers to be announced. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

Manhattan

37th Annual Julius and Ethel Rosenberg Commemoration. Demonstrate in front of federal courthouse, Foley Sq. Mon., June 18, noon to 2 p.m. Program Tue., June 19, 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Ossie Davis, actor; others. New York University Law School, 40 Washington Sq. S. Sponsor: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. Tel: (212) 228-4500.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Defend Mark Curtis, Framed-Up Unionist and Political Activist. Speakers to be announced. Sat., June 30, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Friends of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Racist Attacks from Temple to Bensonhurst: What Strategy to Fight Back? A panel of civil

rights activists. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 9 E Cheltenham Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (215) 848-5044.

Revolutionary Cuba Today. Speaker: Jon Hillson, *Militant* reporter who covered May Day events in Havana. Sat., June 30, 7:30 p.m. 9 E Cheltenham Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (215) 848-5044.

TEXAS

Houston

Response to the South African Escalation. Video showing of Part III of Cuban documentary on the defeat of the apartheid army at battle of Cuito Cuanavale, Angola. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

BRITAIN

Cardiff

The Road to Union Power: Celebrate Publication of Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialism. Speakers: Keith Hughes, convenor, Amalgamated Engineers Union, on strike at Reynolds; Clive Turnbull, Pathfinder Bookcentre. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

London

The Struggle for a Palestinian Homeland. Eyewitness report by Monica Brady, National Union of Teachers. Fri., June 22, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 71-928-7947.

Political Vetting and Victimization at Work. Speaker: Joyce Fairchild. Fri., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 71-928-7947.

Manchester

Malcolm X: The Relevance of His Ideas for the 1990s. Video and discussion. Wed., June 20, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Mandela speech to S. African businessmen

Continued from Page 9

defense establishment, a process which must also lead to the conversion of military production facilities to civilian needs.

We would also be of the view that we should build a state system which does not seek to administer the lives of people as though they were wards of the state. The situation should therefore be fought against in which there would be a bloated and unproductive civil service.

The democratic project in which we are all interested cannot succeed unless the economy can deliver. The reality is that the economy is in a terrible crisis. Unemployment is increasing. Black employment is the same now as it was 10 years ago. The rate of investment in fixed capital is decreasing. Inflation is high. There is no prospect of getting out of the morass while the apartheid system of white minority rule remains in place.

The international community would like to come back as an interested participant in the creation of a society which can serve as an example in terms of the solution of the race question and the institution of a healthy system of race relations. For us to be able to persuade the world that it must invest in South

Africa, that it must extend aid to us, that it should agree on a Marshall aid plan, we must be able to report to the nations that white minority domination is no more.

We must also report that all the people of South Africa are working at the building of a national consensus which will ensure that never again will our country be torn apart by the criminal divisions which the apartheid system imposed on all our people.

In the direct interest of the lives of all our people, this system must go now. None of us can afford a delay, which will lead to the further destruction of the economy and the heightening of social tensions and conflict. We believe you have as much an obligation as we have to bend every effort to ensure a democratic political system is instituted without delay.

The effort to build the new means that we abandon the old. The National Party, responding to the failure of its grand design, is taking the first steps in the process of abandoning apartheid ideology. This change in our overall reality has made it possible for us all to move towards a just political settlement.

We need the same transformation in the economic sphere. You, as businessmen and women, have the obligation to engage in this

process. I hope that you are able to abandon old ideas and think about the future in new terms. Once such ideas are born, we know that you will have the courage to act on them.

In this manner, we could begin to shape our economic and political destiny in the interest of justice, peace, and progress. We trust that you will consider this carefully and reflect on the question, What are you prepared to do for your country? rather than what your country can do for you.

We thank you for your attention. We hope that what we have said might assist in the process of building a national consensus of the direction we have to choose in order to end the agony of apartheid and racism, of poverty and deprivation, of internal conflict and international isolation.

The people who are dying in Natal, the injured of Welkom, the people who are being evicted from the farms in the western Transvaal, the millions of the unemployed in the towns, cities, and the countryside, demand a solution. All of us present here have an obligation to use the levers of power and influence we hold in our hands to ensure that the new day dawns now.

Thank you.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New Internationalist*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Lutte ouvrière*.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 NE 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: P.O. Box 4103. Zip: 40204-4103.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2913 Green-

mount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. **MASSACHUSETTS: Boston:** 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Austin: 407 1/2 N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twin Cities:** 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2219 E Market. Zip 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cleveland: 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

OREGON: Portland: 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

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Cheltenham Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 848-5044. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Racist pig of the year — At a recent inquiry into the killing of an Aborigine youth by Australian cops, a police inspector explained why they sometimes grab Aborigines by



Harry Ring

the hair. "Aborigines," he said, "when stirred up and obviously looking for a fight, get greasy and slippery."

Makes ya proud — "The army had a shooting list of about 4,000 or

5,000 people." — Joseph Lazarsky, ex-CIA official in Indonesia, on the disclosure that the agency supplied the Indonesian army with the names of alleged Communist Party members, most of whom were slaughtered in the 1965 right-wing bloodbath that took the lives of 250,000 Indonesians.

Never lost a night's sleep — "I probably have a lot of blood on my hands, but that's not all bad. There's a time when you have to strike hard at a decisive moment." — Robert Martens, the U.S. official in Indonesia who compiled the Communist Party death list.

Apartheid, a caring system — In Sandton, South Africa, an envi-

ronment control official pointed to the horrifying conditions in a squatters' colony. "These areas are ideal breeding grounds for diseases," he warned. "And there is a constant threat of cross-contamination. Many of these people are employed and there is a very real possibility of passing these diseases on to their employers."

Check the fine print — Asserting that they're safe for folks to move back into, the government is offering discount-priced homes at the Love Canal toxic dump site. The homes will emphasize a new name, Black Creek Village. Asked if Love Canal will be mentioned, an official said, "I think so. I'm sure we'll put it in someplace."

Silver-lining dep't — With the opening of the hurricane season, Puerto Ricans still trying to rebuild from last year's Hurricane Hugo find the cost of concrete building blocks has jumped as much as 41 percent. Meanwhile the San Juan municipal assembly demanded the suspension of five top officials for their alleged role in the ripoff of \$300,000 in city hurricane cleanup funds.

Law 'n order, Israeli style — A teacher from Deir al-Assad, a town inside Israel's pre-1967 borders, was sentenced to four months in jail and a \$500 fine for teaching his pupils how to draw the Palestinian flag.

No lack of chutzpah — Increasingly, major capitalist countries are exploiting the economic need of South Pacific islands to make them dumping grounds for toxic waste. Recently, the Pentagon tried to burn off nerve gas in the Marshall Islands. The islands include the Bikini atoll that had to be evacuated for 30 years after U.S. nuke tests there.

Another free-enterprise bonus — According to the New Zealand Herald, the government of one island atoll was told that if it accepted Northern Hemisphere municipal garbage, it would increase the height of the atoll, overcoming the problem of a sea level rise induced by global warming.

Why revolutionists must work in the trade unions

The following are excerpts from an article by Leon Trotsky, "Trade Unions in the epoch of imperialist decay," taken from the new Pathfinder book with the same title. Trotsky was a central leader of the October 1917 revolution in Russia.

This unfinished article was found in Trotsky's desk after his assassination in August 1940 by an agent of Joseph Stalin. The article first appeared in the magazine *Fourth International*, February 1941.

There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing close to and growing together with the state power. This process is equally characteristic of the neutral, the Social Democratic, the Communist, and "anarchist" trade unions. This fact alone shows that the tendency toward "growing

together" is intrinsic not in this or that doctrine as such but derives from social conditions common for all unions.

Monopoly capitalism does not rest on competition and free private initiative but on centralized command. The capitalist cliques at the head of mighty trusts, syndicates, banking consortiums, and so on, view economic life from the very same heights as does state power; and they require at every step the collaboration of the latter.

In their turn the trade unions in the most important branches of industry find themselves deprived of the possibility of profiting from the competition among the different enterprises. They have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions — insofar as they remain on reformist positions, that is, on positions of adapting themselves to private property — to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to

contend for its cooperation. In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, the chief task lies in "freeing" the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism.

The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the "democratic" state how reliable and indispensable they are in peacetime and especially in time of war. By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism.

From the foregoing it seems, at first sight, easy to draw the conclusion that the trade unions cease to be trade unions in the imperialist epoch. They leave almost no room at all for workers' democracy, which, in the good old days when free trade ruled on the economic arena, constituted the content of the inner life of labor organizations. In the absence of workers' democracy there cannot be any free struggle for influence over the trade union membership. And because of this, the chief arena of work for revolutionists within the trade unions disappears.

Such a position, however, would be false to the core. We cannot select the arena and the conditions for our activity to suit our own likes and dislikes. It is infinitely more difficult to fight in a totalitarian or a semitotalitarian state for influence over the working masses than in a democracy. The very same thing likewise applies to trade unions, whose fate reflects the change in the destiny of capitalist states.

We cannot renounce the struggle for influence over workers in Germany merely because the totalitarian regime makes such work extremely difficult there. We cannot, in precisely the same way, renounce the struggle within the compulsory labor organizations

created by fascism.

All the less so can we renounce internal systematic work in trade unions of a totalitarian and semitotalitarian type merely because they depend directly or indirectly on the workers' state or because the bureaucracy deprives the revolutionists of the possibility of working freely within these trade unions.

It is necessary to conduct a struggle under all those concrete conditions that have been created by the preceding developments, including by the mistakes of the working class and the crimes of its leaders. In the fascist and semifascist countries it is impossible to carry on revolutionary work that is not underground, illegal, conspiratorial. Within the totalitarian and semitotalitarian unions it is impossible or well-nigh impossible to carry on any except conspiratorial work.

It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime.

The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state*. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.

The second slogan is: *trade union democracy*. This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state.

In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class.

They cannot any longer be anarchistic, that is, ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms.

Either the trade unions of our time will serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capital to subordinate and discipline the workers and to obstruct the revolution or, on the contrary, the unions will become tools of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

From what has been said, it follows quite clearly that in spite of the progressive degeneration of trade unions and their growing together with the imperialist state, the work within the trade unions not only does not lose any of its importance but remains as before and becomes in a certain sense even more important work than ever for every revolutionary party.

The matter at issue is essentially the struggle for influence over the working class. Every organization, every party, every faction that permits itself an ultimistic position in relation to trade unions, that is, in essence turns its back upon the working class merely because of displeasure with its organization, every such organization is destined to perish. And it must be said that it deserves to perish.

NEW FROM PATHFINDER

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"Either the trade unions will serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capital to subordinate and discipline the workers or they will become tools of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

— Leon Trotsky

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TRADE UNIONS IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALIST DECAY

BY LEON TROTSKY



INCLUDES TRADE UNIONS: THEIR PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE BY KARL MARX

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE 60 CENTS

June 20, 1980

They have been coming by the hundreds every week, penniless refugees seeking asylum in the United States. They leave their native land secretly, often by night, lest they be found out by the political police.

They set sail in flimsy craft on an 800-mile journey in shark-infested Caribbean waters. Fifty people may crowd together in a boat built for 15. The journey, usually by sailboat, takes two to three weeks. Many do not survive.

At journey's end they find no welcoming committees, no job offers, no public services at their disposal. The president doesn't suggest an airlift.

They are ignored by everyone, it seems, except the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Rather than overlooking the irregularity of their arrival, the INS hastens to deport them.

Who are they? They are Haitians.

There are 25,000–30,000 Haitians in South Florida who have come to the United States seeking asylum. An even larger Haitian community exists in Brooklyn. The Haitians have been arriving steadily since 1972, with a large influx in recent months, as the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti has stepped up its repression.

President Carter had the authority to grant the Haitians asylum as a group. But he refused to do so.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

June 21, 1965 Price 10c

Naked acts of aggression come so thick and fast under the Johnson doctrine that it is not easy to keep up with events.

Take the dirty war in Vietnam, for example.

Shifting from the "adviser" guise to a masquerade of "defensive" action, they are committing U.S. troops to unrestricted land combat against the revolutionary forces. Since Johnson's "unconditional negotiations" speech, U.S. forces in South Vietnam have more than doubled. The full-scale land war now developing Korea-style will cause a leap in U.S. casualties.

All this is carried out primarily through executive decree, using the crooked argument that Johnson is merely exercising his "constitutional authority" as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

In reality, Johnson is usurping the war powers reserved to Congress by the U.S. Constitution, and he is abetted in his betrayal of the peoples' trust by the capitalist politicians on Capitol Hill. Congress allows him to take the country into war whenever, however, and wherever he pleases. The American people are thus left with no representation in government on so vital a matter.

Justice for Yusuf Hawkins!

The June 11 sentencing of two white youths from the Bensonhurst section of New York to big prison terms for their role in the killing of Black teenager Yusuf Hawkins is welcomed by all opponents of racist violence.

Joseph Fama and Keith Mondello, both 19 years old, were convicted by separate juries in May for the August 1989 killing of Hawkins, 16. Fama, found guilty of second-degree murder, was sentenced to the maximum prison term of 32 years and eight months to life. In a gross miscarriage of justice, Mondello, the ringleader of the lynch mob that chased and beat Hawkins, was acquitted of murder charges. On four lesser charges, however, he was given the maximum sentence of five years and four months to 16 years.

Hawkins and three friends were attacked by the racist gang of 30 to 40 youths after going into the white enclave of Bensonhurst to look at a used car advertised for sale in the newspaper. Armed with baseball bats, the mob surrounded Hawkins and his friends and four shots were fired, two killing Hawkins.

The August murder was met with widespread outrage, and thousands of people, mostly young Blacks, poured into the streets of Brooklyn protesting the lynching and demanding justice for Hawkins. During the trials of Fama and Mondello, hundreds of supporters of Hawkins gathered and rallied outside the courthouse calling for guilty verdicts.

"It is a small joy for myself, but it is a great victory for Black people all over the city," said Moses Stewart, father of Hawkins, outside the courtroom after Fama and Mondello were given maximum terms. Indeed, the sentencing is a blow struck against those who commit acts of racist brutality, which victimize Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and other oppressed nationalities.

In most cases the cops or vigilantes that carry out such crimes go scot-free. Many aren't arrested at all; and if they are, they aren't charged. Many charged aren't tried; many tried aren't convicted; and many culprits of racist violence who are convicted merely get a slap on the wrist.

So the prison terms handed out to Fama and Mondello in the Bensonhurst killing of Hawkins can serve as a deterrent to all those who think they have the right to harass, beat, and kill people whose skin is Black.

The mass protests that took place after Hawkins was murdered and the actions outside the courthouse during the trial reflect the widespread disgust and outrage by working people to racist violence. Moreover, it helped prevent the big-business press from burying the case. The protests also show the potential that exists today to mobilize broad layers of workers, youth, and other opponents of racism to demand the offenders be punished.

Protests like these are needed now as the remaining six white youths from Bensonhurst face trials in the next several weeks. Working people who are members of trade unions should rally to bring the weight of their union to bear in demanding justice for Hawkins.

And others — workers, farmers, youth, antiracists — should win support for the fight against racism and help mobilize others in organizations they belong to in their neighborhoods, churches, schools, and workplaces.

Public protests that draw in the broadest layers of working people — Black, white, Asian, and Latino — to demand the Bensonhurst youths be found guilty for their role in the murder of Hawkins are needed to halt these crimes and advance the fight against racism today.

Bigotry at the border

An international spotlight has been put on U.S. immigration and border restrictions.

The Sixth International Conference on AIDS opens in San Francisco on June 20, but more than 85 groups — including the International Red Cross, International Planned Parenthood, the government of Switzerland, the French Ministry of Health, the state government of Hawaii, and Gay Men's Health Crisis of New York — plan to boycott the event.

These organizations are protesting U.S. laws that restrict citizens from other countries who are infected with the AIDS virus from entering the country. They, along with activists fighting for measures to deal with AIDS, have pointed out that no sound public health reason exists for the policy, and its results wrongly stigmatize people infected with the AIDS virus. U.S. laws also bar immigrants who test positive for the AIDS virus from becoming U.S. citizens.

On June 3, the *New York Times* revealed that the Immigration and Naturalization Service plans to bar gays and lesbians from entering the United States for the AIDS conference under a neanderthal and undemocratic law still on the books that labels them "sexual deviants."

Just over a year ago a man from the Netherlands, who had AIDS and was on his way to the Lesbian and Gay Health Conference in San Francisco, was detained by the INS and locked up in a Minnesota state prison. He was only released after international condemnation hit the INS brutality.

Under pressure the Bush administration recently created 10-day visas for those with AIDS to enter the country for the June 20 conference. But the move was rejected as insufficient by scientists from 50 countries and public health officials across the United States.

The U.S. government's stubborn refusal to implement an effective national health policy to combat the continued spread of AIDS has once again been exposed. Instead of leading a government mobilization to fight AIDS and provide adequate care for the victims of the disease, Washington responds with police-state measures that weaken everyone's democratic rights and turn immigrants and gays into scapegoats. These moves serve to embolden reactionaries, encourage bigotry, and are aimed at reinforcing divisions among working people.

The border restrictions against people with AIDS and gays should be abolished.

Defend First Amendment rights

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. — First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

One of 10 amendments known as the Bill of Rights, the First Amendment is under attack by reactionary forces. They are attempting to get the courts and government agencies to restrict artists' right to freedom of expression, and the rights of everyone to see and hear what they want without government intervention.

On June 10 two members of the 2 Live Crew rap band were arrested in Miami after they sang a song at a concert from their "As Nasty as They Wanna Be" album. The record had been classified as obscene by a federal judge in Florida. Police also arrested a record store owner in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, who refused to stop selling the album.

The campaign against the musical group was initiated by a "profamily" group called Focus on the Family. After reading a transcript of the rap album, Paul Hetrick, the organization's vice-president, noted "87 descriptions of oral sex, 116 mentions of male and female genitalia and other lyrical passages referring to male ejaculation." This prompted him, said Hetrick in an interview with the *New York Times*, to pass the transcript on to Florida Gov. Robert Martínez and to every sheriff in the state. Martínez termed the lyrics obscene.

After receiving the transcript, Broward County (Florida)

Sheriff Nick Navarro referred the matter to William Kelly, a former agent of the FBI who specialized in crimes involving alleged obscenity while working under FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Kelly now works for the county as a part-time consultant on obscenity.

To make the attack more palatable, those behind this campaign have termed the material pornographic and a call to the "sexual brutalization of women." But working people in Florida know that Governor Martínez, who strongly opposes abortion rights, is no friend of women. And supporters of women's rights have grown weary of groups calling themselves "prolife" or "profamily." No former or current FBI agent has any business deciding what one should or should not be able to hear or see.

Working people have no stake in supporting efforts that would restrict our First Amendment rights whether under the guise of protecting women against abuse or the "illegal use of a minor in nudity oriented material" as was done in the recent attempt to ban the showing of the works of photographer Robert Mapplethorpe in Cincinnati. Nor should they be restricted on the pretext of combating "totalitarianism" as two daily newspapers have argued in attacking the Pathfinder Mural in New York. The six-story mural depicts the portraits of revolutionary leaders from around the world.

The attacks are aimed at all working people, students, and fighters for social progress. If the opponents of democratic rights can get away with restricting the rights of those who they think are in a weaker position to defend themselves, it will make it easier to curtail the rights of all working people.

Origins of U.S. aggression in Korea

BY DOUG JENNESS

June 25 will mark the 40th anniversary of the opening of the Korean War.

This chapter of history is not well-known by most people in the United States, especially compared to the much greater awareness that exists about the Vietnam War even among younger generations. Historians, in fact, reveal this by the titles selected for books about the war — for example, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* and *Korea: The Unknown War*.

One common misconception is that Washington's military involvement in Korea began in June 1950 in response to "communist aggression" from North Korean military

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

forces. U.S. troops, however, first entered Korea in 1945. And understanding the political and social struggles in that country for the following five years is key to learning what the Korean War was about.

Korea increasingly came under Japanese domination at the beginning of this century and was formally annexed to Japan in 1910. It remained a colony until the end of the second world imperialist war when Japanese military forces surrendered. During the years of Japanese colonial rule a significant independence movement emerged. On March 1, 1919, rallies throughout the country drew 2 million participants. This was followed by many other mass protests, as well as the organization of an armed guerrilla struggle based in the Korean-Chinese border region.

The announcement of Japan's surrender on Aug. 15, 1945, sparked a massive social upheaval throughout Korea. "People's committees," which united forces that had been active in the anticolonial fight, emerged all across the country and began to assume control in many places. They were set up at province, city, county, and village levels. A wave of union organizing swept through factories and workplaces, and organizations of peasants, youth, and women mushroomed.

On Sept. 6, 1945, the Korean People's Republic was established in Seoul with close links to the people's committees and other mass organizations. It called for an independent Korea; radical land reform; nationalization of mines, factories, and railways; suffrage for men and women 18 or over; an eight-hour work day and other prolabor measures; freedom of speech, assembly, and religion; and compulsory elementary education.

But the ruling circles in the United States had other plans for Korea. Washington said it would take Japan's surrender in Korea south of the 38th parallel; Joseph Stalin in Moscow agreed to accept Japan's surrender in the north. Soviet troops moved into the Korean peninsula from the north on August 9, six days before the Japanese surrender. They occupied the northern part of the country to the 38th parallel.

U.S. military forces arrived in Seoul on Sept. 8, 1945, two days after the Korean People's Republic had been formed. U.S. officials immediately rejected permitting the new republic to develop into a sovereign, independent government and over the next year waged a campaign to smash the workers' and peasants' organizations. They set up a puppet regime, using a big hunk of the Japanese colonial apparatus, including Korean officers who had served in the Japanese military.

The government established in the south by the U.S. occupation forces was based on maintaining the domination of landlords in the countryside and capitalist ownership of industry. A major rebellion against the "Made in America" regime occurred in the fall of 1946. It included strikes of thousands of railway workers and miners and widespread peasant protests.

The revolt was defeated by troops and right-wing thugs organized by the government. Subsequently, however, a guerrilla movement developed. Suppression of labor strikes, peasant resistance, and guerrilla battles in the south between 1945 and the outbreak of the Korean War claimed 100,000 lives.

In the north, the Soviet forces recognized the people's committees, which soon became the foundation of a new government. By the end of 1946 landlord domination had been broken and land redistributed to tenant farmers and other toilers in the countryside who needed land. The mines and other industrial enterprises were nationalized.

One element that played a significant role in shaping the political outlook of Koreans in the north was the Chinese civil war raging across their border. Tens of thousands of Koreans fought on the side of the revolutionary forces against the imperialist-backed tyranny of Chiang Kai-shek, which was overturned in October 1949.

The division between the northern and southern parts of Korea became increasingly institutionalized as two governments based on conflicting property relations emerged.

In late 1948 Soviet troops withdrew from Korea and in June 1949 most U.S. troops pulled out. A substantial U.S. military advisory group remained, however, to supervise Korea's armed forces.

This was the setting for the beginning of the Korean War, which will be taken up next week.

Why AMFA gets a hearing at Northwest hangar

BY ELLEN BERMAN

ATLANTA — The Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) has stepped up its raiding operation against the Machinists union at Northwest Airlines maintenance hangar here. Leaflets attacking the International Association of Machinists are posted up all over the hangar. Workers are being encouraged by AMFA supporters to sign authorization cards to get a union representation election called, with the aim of voting out the IAM among mechanics and cleaners. Some 1,300 IAM members work at the maintenance hangar.

AMFA is a company-minded outfit that seeks to split aircraft mechanics off from the IAM to form their own craft union. Their main pitch is that because mechanics are more skilled than ramp workers or cleaners, they could strike a better deal for themselves with the employers if they were

mechanics who supported AMFA were cozying up to the cleaners to get them to sign cards. One day a group of cleaners overheard the AMFA mechanics in the break room laughing about how they were going to get rid of the cleaners after they won the election. One cleaner let the mechanics know they had been overheard, and from then on, the AMFA supporters stayed clear of the cleaners.

Another cleaner said that he had been approached by an AMFA mechanic when he worked in another city. When the AMFA organizer found out this worker was a cleaner, he snatched the card back. AMFA doesn't organize cleaners, the worker was told.

However, AMFA has been able to tap into some of the serious frustrations of IAM members in the hangar. There is support for AMFA not only among some mechanics, but among some of the cleaners as well.

One source of anger among workers, both Black and white, is a provision in the last IAM contract with Northwest called "company select." This allows the company to bypass seniority in upgrading for all jobs and to select workers through an interview process instead. What this has produced is a system of favoritism in which a worker with less than a year's seniority can get an upgrade for which a worker with 25 years of seniority is denied. At the Atlanta hangar, some Black workers with many years of seniority have been consistently denied upgrades and are dissatisfied with the IAM's lack of response to the company's racist practices.

Another reason AMFA gets a hearing among some cleaners is that AMFA supporters say they would press for engine cleaning jobs to be upgraded, which would mean higher pay than cleaners now receive.

Although AMFA does not support the Machinists' strike at Eastern, and some AMFA supporters have refused to donate money to the strike during collections taken on the hangar floor because it involved the IAM, there are some AMFA mechanics who try to capitalize on the support that exists for the strike by wearing "Stop Lorenzo" buttons.

Several months ago, a leaflet announcing an IAM meeting with the Eastern strikers was posted in the hangar —

not by the IAM, but by AMFA. Under the information about the meeting, it said in large letters, "We believe an informed member is a strong union member." The point was that the IAM was not informing their own membership about the strike meeting.

The IAM local at Northwest has regularly given money to support the Eastern strikers. But many workers agree that more than financial support is needed. Some thought the IAM was helping the strike when a campaign was organized in the hangar to isolate and harass several former Eastern mechanics who had scabbed on the strike and were now working at Northwest. But a bigger contribution could have been made by organizing a contingent to beef up the strikers' picket lines and helping reach out to other unions to do the same.

AMFA's elitist appeal plays right into the company's hands by increasing divisions and tensions among workers. But not all of the support AMFA gets comes from agreement with its craft outlook. Some comes from workers angry with the IAM officialdom's lack of a perspective for fighting to break down barriers that exist and forge unity in the work force. Many say the union operates more like a business than a union, that it doesn't offer enough information about the Eastern strike and other challenges facing the labor movement today, and that it doesn't do anything to combat racism on the job.

Workers are looking for answers and with no other alternatives being offered, many respond to AMFA by saying, "It can't be any worse."

This means there's a big job ahead in convincing IAM members that the way forward is through fighting to strengthen our union, not in splitting it up or going with a tiny, fake craft outfit. At the same time, there's a need to tell the truth about AMFA, answer their arguments, and — most of all — work together to build solidarity with the Eastern strike and other union battles that are taking place — something AMFA has not the slightest interest in.

Ellen Berman is a member of IAM Local 2665. She works as an aircraft cleaner at Northwest Airlines maintenance hangar in Atlanta.

UNION TALK

in their own association. They're trying to build a "craftsmen's union," AMFA regional director Vic Remeneski told the *Atlanta Constitution* recently, "When you've got a product that is needed, you don't have to be militant."

AMFA recently won a union representation election among the 86 mechanics at the Trump Shuttle — the only place it currently is authorized to represent a group of workers.

Although AMFA is only interested in mechanics, the National Mediation Board has ruled — in the case of Northwest — that both cleaners and mechanics must be included in the union representation vote. In February 1989 the board dismissed a bid by AMFA to decertify the IAM at Northwest because of insufficient authorization cards. Now AMFA supporters are again trying to get enough cards signed to get an election called — and that's as far as their interest in cleaners goes.

One cleaner at the Northwest hangar here tells a story about how during the last AMFA drive for signatures some

LETTERS

Drawbacks of capitalism

After nearly a year's worth of giddy reporting about the demise of socialism in Eastern Europe, the U.S. media is becoming a bit more reflective.

Militant readers will be amused to note that the *New York Times* recently wrote: "While Eastern Europeans may have hated Communism... many are only beginning to recognize the drawbacks of capitalism — longer and harder workdays, layoffs, and social divisions between the rich and poor."

What next — a serialization of Marx's *Value, Price and Profit*?
Albert Fried-Cassorla
Melrose Park, Pennsylvania

Refreshing

I signed up for your introductory special two months ago and have enjoyed the paper immensely. It is so refreshing to receive a paper that tells the truth. And even better to have it packaged in a non-frothing, non-hysterical point of view.

I do plan to continue to subscribe. But I am a student, so it is difficult to say where I will be living in 12 weeks. I will pick up the *Militant* again as soon as I am settled.
L.K.
Goleta, California

Abortion rights

Lovejoy Surgicenter in Portland was the target of a recent arson attack. The outpatient clinic is one of the leading providers of abortion in Oregon. It has been the scene of frequent anti-abortion pickets, as well as a violent blockade by "Operation Rescue" last February.

Fortunately, a neighborhood resident was able to extinguish the fire. He provided police with a sketch of the arsonist, but no arrests have been made to date. The clinic was damaged but did remain open and all scheduled patients were seen.

The Saturday after the arson, 400 opponents of legal abortion attended a Mother's Day demonstration, a crowd far smaller than the 2,000 prochoice activists who turned out to hear Molly Yard, president of the National Organization for Women,



and other NOW leaders pledge a campaign to keep Oregon pro-choice.

An initial victory in this campaign was won when voters in Josephine County defeated a reactionary initiative that would have required parental consent for minors to receive information on contraception, abortion, or sexually transmitted diseases.

Carol Sholin
Portland, Oregon

Greece recognizes Israel

A recent article in the *Militant* reported on the massacre of Palestinians near Tel Aviv on May 20. On May 21 Konstantinos Mitsotakis, the recently elected Greek prime minister, announced his government's de jure recognition of the state of Israel.

However, this doesn't mean recognition of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, he said. Mitsotakis also said the Palestine Liberation Organization mission in Athens would be upgraded to an embassy.

The prime minister noted that

Greece is the only European Community member that had not recognized Israel and that countries in Eastern Europe are taking similar steps. Greece is seeking long-term loans from the European Community and the International Monetary Fund.

The former ruling party of Greece — PASOK — said the move will damage the country's economic ties with the Arab world and "weaken arguments around the national question in Cyprus, where the Turkish occupation government has not been recognized by any government."

The head PLO representative in Athens said his organization will try to deepen its ties with the Greek government to show "who wants peace and who is a terrorist."
Natasha Terlexis
Jersey City, New Jersey

Seattle bookstore

I recently attended a celebration of the opening of the new Seattle Pathfinder Bookstore. Some 75 labor and political activists, including a number from Portland, Ore-

gon, and Vancouver, British Columbia, participated in the May 12 event, which focused on defense of the Cuban revolution. Elizabeth Stone, editor of the Pathfinder book *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, spoke on the advances being made by the Cuban people through the rectification process.

Joseph Antionne-Zimbabwe, a member of the Venceremos Brigade, gave an account of the recent May Day celebration in Havana, noting that representatives of the South West Africa People's Organisation gave Pathfinder books as gifts to members of the group he was traveling with.

Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress and a professor at Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington, paid tribute to Pathfinder for distributing the ideas of working-class and revolutionary leaders throughout the world, and to the efforts of the recent *Militant* reporting team to southern Africa.

Eastern striker Skip Kerekes and Greyhound striker Bob Tuttle addressed the meeting. Tomás Villanueva, president of the United

Farm Workers of Washington State, sent greetings.

The new bookstore is already meeting with success — \$600 in sales in the first two weeks.

John Rubinstein
Seattle, Washington

Health behind bars

I am presently incarcerated, living in a situation that poses a clear danger to my physical health because of illegal practices by prison authorities.

Due to the large influx of prisoners over the last few years, there is a serious overcrowding problem. Two prisoners are crowded into cells designed to house only one — tight little cells that now hold a huge, bulky double bunk, leaving almost no room for the two prisoners to move about once locked up for the night.

There are men suffering from AIDS, hepatitis, tuberculosis, herpes, and a number of other highly contagious diseases. All of these men are housed indiscriminately with other prisoners, putting the health of all prisoners at risk. Recently a prisoner contracted hepatitis; it was discovered he had been forced to share a cell with a man who the hospital staff knew to be infected with the disease.

It is the contention of a great number of the prisoners at U.S. Penitentiary Leavenworth that the administration policy is a form of genocide. There is certainly a tacit agreement among the hospital staff, the correctional officers, and the administrative authorities at this institution to keep the situation quiet.

We think the above information may be of interest to the readers of your not-so-easily-intimidated newspaper.

A prisoner
Leavenworth, Kansas

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Socialists campaign for program to unite working people in action

'Need to fight to change the world,' says Iowa candidate



Militant/Yvonne Hayes
Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers candidate for Iowa governor, is a meat-packer and fighter for Black and women's rights.

BY ALISON CONROY

DES MOINES, Iowa — Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Iowa, launched her campaign here on June 2.

"Iowa is right in the middle of a worldwide economic crisis," Bailey explained. "Farmers are being driven off their land and the bosses are trying to bust our unions. Environmental disasters, racist attacks, police brutality and frame-ups, more prisons, and attacks on abortion rights and affirmative action are all consequences of

this crisis of the capitalist system."

The current crisis of the savings and loan banking system, the 1987 crash of the stock market, and the deteriorating conditions facing millions worldwide are evidence of the social catastrophe that looms for working people, Bailey explained.

"Working people are not the only ones who suffer under capitalism," Bailey said. "But we are the ones capable of carrying out a united, successful fight to change the world."

The centerpiece of her campaign, Bailey explained, will be the Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis — a program that aims to unify and strengthen the working class and its allies around three central demands. The SWP program calls for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to create jobs, the defense of affirmative action, and cancellation of the Third World debt.

Bailey is running against Republican incumbent Terry Branstad and Democratic Party candidate Donald Avenson.

A meeting to launch the campaign received a message from Mark Curtis, a unionist and political activist now serving 25 years in an Iowa prison on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. Curtis pledged his enthusiastic support for Bailey's campaign and pledged to build support for the campaign in prison.

A number of activists have already volunteered to help the SWP petition for ballot status. Under Iowa law, 1,000 signatures must be filed by August 17. The socialist campaign will reach out to packinghouse workers, women's rights fighters, anti-apartheid activists, and farm workers for support in this effort.

Bailey works at the Swift/Monfort beef slaughterhouse in Des Moines, the plant where Curtis worked before he was framed up. She is a member of the United Food and

Commercial Workers Union and has been active in solidarity with the Eastern Airlines and Greyhound strikes.

Bailey joined the socialist movement in 1971 as a result of her activity in opposition to the Vietnam War and in support of the fight

for women's and Black rights. She has traveled to Cuba to learn about the advances working people there are making as they fight for socialism. She will be campaigning to defend those gains against the threats by the U.S. government.

Missouri auto worker demands shorter workweek, no pay cut

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

ST. LOUIS — Joseph Allor, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Missouri's third district, kicked off his campaign May 31 at a news conference in front of Chrysler Plant No. 1. This auto factory is slated to close November 9 and has become a symbol here of the growing economic crisis facing working people.

Allor, 43, is an assembly line worker at Chrysler Plant No. 2 and a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 110. He has worked for Chrysler for 23 years and experienced firsthand the effects of the concessions forced on auto workers beginning in 1979.

At the news conference, Allor explained the SWP program for jobs, calling for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay. While Chrysler plans to lay off nearly 4,000 workers at Plant No. 1, many auto workers are forced to work overtime. Allor, for example, has been working 54 hours a week for six years.

The auto workers' union is on record supporting such a proposal, the socialist explained. But this must be a fight for the whole working class, demanding that the government take action to reduce the workweek and provide jobs not just for those laid off at Chrysler and other auto plants but for the hundreds of thousands of other unemployed workers.

Following the news conference, campaign supporters participated in a rally to support striking workers at Eastern Airlines and Greyhound, as well as workers on strike at a dozen different local companies.

On June 1 Allor dropped by a rally in front of the UAW Local 136 hall, the headquarters of the union at Chrysler Plant No. 1. The rally featured Allor's Democratic Party opponent, Congressman Richard Gephardt.

A statement from the socialist candidate explained the demand for a shorter workweek and called for a massive program of public works to create jobs at union scale. The anti-imports campaign by Gephardt and other capitalist politicians, which they claim is aimed at protecting jobs, is a dead end for working people, Allor said. "It divides us from our natural allies in the fight against the bosses — other working people around the world."

While distributing the statement, Allor and his supporters were asked by a Local 136 officer to leave the rally. After a short discussion, the socialist candidate agreed.

The next day, however, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reported that Allor had run up to the stage during Gephardt's talk, demanding to debate him. The newspaper ran a photo of a man shaking his finger at the congressman, identifying him as Allor.

The Socialist Workers campaign contacted the *Post-Dispatch*, which printed a retraction. Gephardt's challenger was Nicholas Clement, also running for the congressional seat. He belongs to Missouri Democrats for National Recovery, a group that supports right-winger Lyndon LaRouche.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes
Joseph Allor, socialist candidate for Congress in Missouri's third district, opposes bosses' anti-imports campaigns.

Meat-packers' strike ends; blow to workers

BY OMARI MUSA
AND TAMAR ROSENFELD

SAN LORENZO, Calif. — On June 1 striking meat-packers at Gallo Salame learned that their walkout had been ended. Their union president announced he had sent a mailgram to the company accepting the most recent offer. Picketing was to cease at 2:00 p.m. the same day.

The workers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120, expressed shock at the decision, which many of them learned about when they arrived for picket duty and found the signs had been removed.

The 200 meat-packers had been on strike since April 19. A week later they were joined by 80 members of UFCW Local 203 at the company's plant across the bay in San Francisco. Both plants — and a third in Modesto, California, which is unorganized — are owned by the Sara Lee Corp.

Since 1982 the contracts at the two union plants have gotten worse, but the workers did not wage a fight. A two-tier setup was imposed, no wage increases were granted, and workers lost their guarantee of a 40-hour workweek.

The company tried to play workers in each plant off against each other. When the contract came up at the San Francisco plant, production was shifted here to San Lorenzo. But when the San Lorenzo contract expired in October 1989, production was shifted back to San Francisco. The workers at the plant stayed on the job without a contract.

As the months dragged on, it became clear

the central issue was the pension plan. UFCW members are enrolled in a union pension fund. No matter which shop they work in, they continue to accumulate benefits based on the number of years they have worked in the industry. Gallo wanted out of the industry-wide plan.

Preparing for a strike

On April 8 Local 120 members voted to reject the company's "final" offer and to strike if no agreement was reached in the next week. On April 16 Gallo advertised that it would accept applications for "permanent replacement workers."

Three days later, at 10:45 a.m., union officials spread through the plant, announcing the local was on strike. In waves, department by department, machines were shut off. Every worker walked off the line and punched out. The plant was shut down.

Noting that they had walked out the day after Eastern Airlines chief Frank Lorenzo was ousted by the bankruptcy court, "Ernie" with a slash through it became one of the first symbols of the strike. Ernie Gabiati is president of Gallo Salame.

On April 26 picket lines went up at the San Francisco plant and were honored by the majority of Local 203 members. While the sympathy strikers could not walk the picket lines, they joined in helping organize a food bank and other activities.

The company began busing scabs into both plants. The striking locals reached out for support. On May 24 nearly 200 unionists swelled the picket lines at the San Lorenzo

plant, chanting, "Turn the buses around." Participants came from the International Association of Machinists, United Farm Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union, and hospital, government, and electrical workers' unions. They succeeded in keeping the plant closed for the day.

The strikers took their fight to the picket lines at Eastern and to union meetings in the Bay Area. Support for the strike continued to build.

Walkout called off

It was in this context that workers learned of the decision to call off the strike. Local 120 President Tim Hamann told a union meeting that he had taken the action based on knowledge that the company was filing a petition to decertify the union. He said he acted unilaterally, without consulting either the members or the executive board.

Few of the 100 members at the meeting agreed with the decision. "We went out together, we should return together" was a common sentiment. Hamann had explained the terms for returning to work included retention of the scabs and recalling the strikers by seniority as needed. The union-operated pension was also replaced by a company-administered investment plan with reduced company contributions.

None of the strikers from Local 120 have yet been recalled.

Omari Musa and Tamar Rosenfeld are both members of UFCW Local 120.